THE

GERMANIA AND AGRICOLA

OF

TACITUS.

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THE

GERMANIA AND AGRICOLA

OF

TACITUS,

WITH NOTES

BY THE

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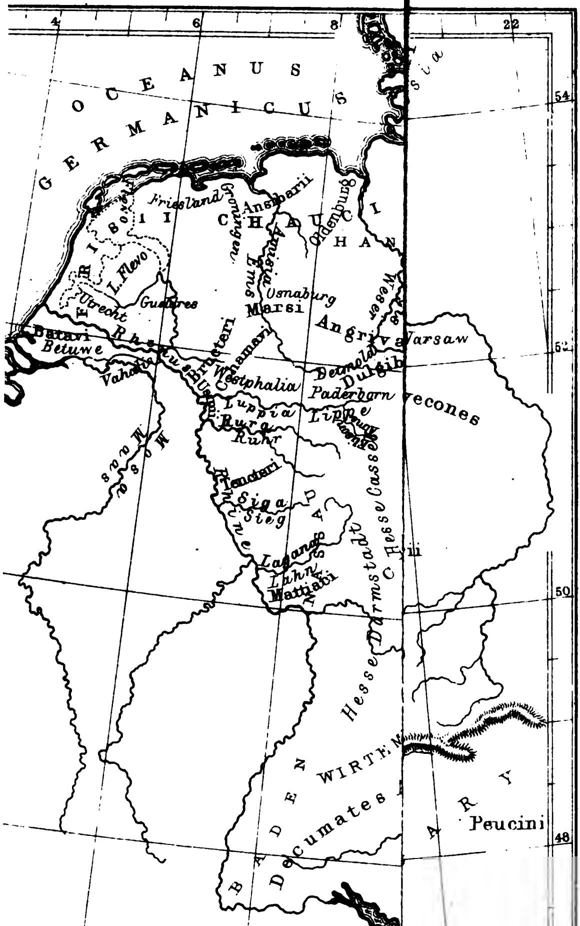
PREFACE.

I DO not think it an easy thing to write Notes to the Germania for the use of schoolboys, because the main interest of the book arises from the ethnological discussions springing out of it. How numerous and important these are may be seen by any one who looks at the size of Dr. Latham's edition of the work. In these questions, however, the younger students, for whose use this Edition is, by the very heading of the series, intended, can hardly be supposed to feel much interest. And yet one can scarcely leave them out altogether. I have, therefore, endeavoured to exercise a wise discretion in the matter, hoping to say neither too much nor too little. I have also done my best to explain points in which I have found, in my experience, boys always have difficulties, or, at all events, are content to entertain vague and misty ideas. I have sometimes, therefore, spent many words, where a few only might seem necessary, and explained in the Notes matters for the elucidation of which I might have simply referred

the reader to other books; only I have learned the unwillingness of boys to make use of such references, even when they have the books requisite. I have put together the main passages from other authors, Greek or Latin, wherein the chief knowledge of Germany and Britain, possessed by the ancients, is stored up; and the most interesting of these extracts are translated into English, as more easily catching the eye in running them over, and to induce younger readers to look at them, which they might not do at all, if they had to be read in a foreign and painful language. I ought to mention the books to which I am most indebted for help. They are Forbiger's 'Handbuch der alten Geographie,' v. 3rd; Dr. Latham's 'Germania;' Ritter's 'Tacitus;' Dr. Smith's 'Dictionaries;' and Wex's 'Agricola.'

BRIGHTON,
August 31st, 1861.

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INTRODUCTION.

WITH regard to the text of the Germania of Tacitus in this edition, a very few words will be enough. Although not exactly corresponding with any other, as far as I know, the text nearly represents that of Massmann (Quedlingburg and Leipsig, 1847), from which it only differs in a few places, where I think the other readings adopted have better manuscript authority, or are intrinsically more probable. A list of these variations will be found appended. The punctuation is my own, not his.

Tacitus apparently wrote his treatise "De Situ, Moribus, Populisque Germaniae," in A.D. 98. In c. 37 of the work he reckons about 210 years to have elapsed from the epoch when the Cimbri first became known to the Romans, to the "second consulship of the Emperor Trajan." This was in A.D. 98; and Tacitus most probably computed the years to the date of the publication of the pamphlet in question. In this case it was his third work, the dialogue "De Oratoribus" being written in the 6th year of Vespasian; and the Agricola, at the close of 97, or beginning of 98, A.D.; the Historiae and Annales following at intervals. There is also an additional argument for the early composition of the Germania, derived from the fact that, although fuller information might be looked for in a work entirely devoted to the history of the Teutonic races, than from a general history of the Roman Empire, yet in the Annals and History, German tribes are

mentioned, which in the Germania are entirely omitted: for instance, the Canninefates (H. iv. 15), the Gugerni (H. iv. 15), the Tubantes (A. i. 51), the Amsivarii (A. xiii. 56), the Sugambri (A. ii. 26). Tacitus probably learned more as he advanced in years, and carried out more fully his historical researches. His aim in this work seems not simply to diffuse information about the barbarous tribes, so pertinacious in resisting Roman aggression, but also to contrast their simplicity of life with the artificial civilization of his countrymen. He continually draws attention to the contrast between the habits of the two people (c. 19. 25), either directly or implicitly; and in order to do so in one particular (c. 26), after remarking that money was unknown amongst them, he proceeds to add,—an observation otherwise somewhat unnecessary, unless for the sake of stigmatizing indirectly the vices of the Romans,—that usury was not practised by them. It does not appear that Tacitus had any peculiar means of obtaining information about Germany. Cornelius Tacitus is mentioned by Pliny (vii. 17 Tauchnitz) as Procurator of Gallia Belgica; but as Pliny died A.D. 79, this person cannot have been the Historian, nor I think is he likely to have been his father. There is not any reason to suppose that Tacitus visited Germany. What he knew was derived probably from the report brought home by those who had taken part in the great expeditions of Drusus and Germanicus, and the accounts of traders. The information, so far as it relates to tribes bordering on the Rhine, and therefore well known to the Romans, is no doubt precise and authentic; for the account of remoter tribes Tacitus must have been dependent on vague hearsay and obscure report.

The authorities on the subject of the Germans amongst the ancients are,—

I. Caesar, Bell. Gall. iv. 1—3.
vi. 21—28.
II. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 108, 109, and 117—122.
III. Strabo, vii. 1.
IV. Pomponius Mela, iii. 2, 3.
V. Plinius, iv. 27—29; xvi. 1.

VI. Tacitus, An. i. 55—71.
ii. 5—26, and 44—46, and 88.
xi. 16—20.
Hist. iv. 12—30, and 54—79.
v. 14—25.
VII. Ptolemæus, ii. 11, &c.

CAESAR.

(Book IV., c. 1—3.)

Of all the German tribes, the Suevi are the greatest and most warlike. They are said to occupy a hundred cantons, from each of which they draw a thousand fighting men every year for service beyond the frontiers. The rest, remaining at home, support themselves and the others; and in turn, during the following year, are engaged under arms; while the former stay at home. By this arrangement agriculture and military service proceed without interruption. They possess no private or separate lands; and are forbidden to remain more than a year in the same place of abode. They use little corn, but chiefly live on milk, and the flesh of their cattle, and spend much of their time in hunting. Consequently from the character of their diet, and the daily exercise and freedom consequent on their way of life (inasmuch as from their boyhood, they are uncontrolled by the rules of duty or discipline, and never do violence to their own inclinations), their strength is fostered, and their stature becomes enormous; and even in the coldest districts they have inured themselves to the absence of all clothing, except skins, from the small size of which the greater part of their body is exposed, and to bathe in their rivers. They allow traders to visit them, rather in order to have means of disposing of spoil taken in war, than from any desire to have foreign articles introduced amongst them. Moreover, the Germans do not use imported beasts of burden, which the Gauls delight in, and procure at high prices; their native cattle, although small and ill-shaped, by daily exercise are made capable of enduring extreme toil. In cavalry engagements they often leap down from their horses, and do battle on foot, and they teach their horses to remain stationary: on

emergencies they withdraw quickly, and mount them. In their view nothing can be more shameful or spiritless than to use housings; consequently, they venture with the scantiest force to attack any number, however large, of horsemen so equipped. Of wine they entirely forbid the importation, considering it to produce effeminacy and incapacity for enduring hardship. In a public point of view, they consider it the highest distinction to have vast tracts of waste lands beyond their frontiers. In their opinion this is a proof that a large number of states cannot withstand their power. In one direction the lands are said to be desolate to a distance of some 600 miles from the Suevi. On the other side the Ubii adjoin them, a people once extensive and flourishing, considering the prevalent condition of the Germans. These last are somewhat more civilized than the generality of their countrymen, from their vicinity to the Rhine, and the frequent visits of traders; and from their proximity to the Gauls, they are accustomed to the habits of that people.

CAESAR.

(Book VI., 21—23.)

The Germans differ considerably from the Gauls in their customs, having no Druids to superintend their religious worship, and paying little regard to sacrifices. In the number of the gods they reckon those only whom they can see, from whom they derive manifest advantages;—the Sun, for instance, Fire, and the Moon; the rest they have never so much as heard of. Their whole life is passed in hunting and war. From infancy they are inured to toil and hardship. The highest praise is bestowed on those who remain the longest chaste: by this course they consider their stature, strength, and sinews to be most enhanced. All bathe, without distinction of sex, in the rivers, and clothe themselves in skins, or small garments of deer-hides, thus leaving a large part of their bodies exposed.

On agriculture they do not bestow much attention; the chief part of their diet consisting in milk, cheese, and meat. None have any fixed portion of the soil or lands to call their own; but

the magistrates and chiefs every year assign to the various tribes and families united together, a certain portion of land, the extent and locality of which is left to their discretion. In the following year they force them to remove elsewhere. For this, various reasons are assigned; its object is either to provide against the exchange of warlike pursuits for husbandry under the charms of lengthened habituation to the soil; or to prevent the wish to acquire large possessions, and the more powerful from expelling the weaker from their holdings; or again, that they may not build houses too carefully, to exclude cold and heat; lastly, to check the rise of desire for wealth, from which party strife and factions spring; in order the better to keep the bulk of the populace in a contented frame of mind, when they see their own resources on a level with those of the most powerful amongst them.

The highest boast of the states is to surround themselves with the broadest possible wastes, by the desolation of the country beyond their frontiers. In their eyes it is the privilege of superior bravery to compel their neighbours to retire from their lands, while none venture to remain in their vicinity; and besides, as all apprehension of sudden inroads is thus removed, they regard it as conducive to greater security. When the state is engaged in war, defensive or offensive, magistrates are chosen to conduct it, with power of life and death. In times of peace there is no magistrate for the whole tribe, but the chiefs of the districts and cantons administer justice and settle disputes between their followers.

Acts of robbery committed beyond the frontiers of each state involve no disgrace; the object of these is stated to be the due training of their youths, and the prevention of indolence. When any chieftain in the council offers to lead these excursions, and bids those who choose to follow him, to give their names, all who approve of the enterprise and the man, rise, and offer their help, and are applauded by the crowd: all who decline to follow are regarded in the light of deserters and traitors, and after this all credit is withheld from them. To offer violence to guests is considered a crime: all who visit them, no matter for what reason, they protect from harm, and treat as sacred: every house is open to them, and the meal is shared with them.

STRABO.

(Book VII., c. 1.)

Next after the Kelts, Germans occupy the districts beyond the Rhine eastwards, differing only slightly from the Keltic race, in their greater ferocity, size, and yellowness of hair, but in all other respects, in form, and habits, and way of life, resembling the Kelts previously described. It is not then without reason, I think, that the Romans gave them their name, intending by it to designate them as genuine Gauls; for in the language of Rome the Germans are by their name marked out as "genuine." The first division of the country embraces the parts adjacent to the Rhine from its source to its embouchure; and this river-valley forms the entire western breadth of the country. Of the inhabitants of this, some have been removed by the Romans to Keltica, others have taken the precaution to retire into the depths of the country, like the Marsi; a few are left behind, and a part of the Sugambri. Next to the occupiers of this valley come the other tribes between the Rhine and the river Elbe, which flows towards the ocean in a direction nearly parallel to the former, traversing a district of no less extent. Between these two there are other navigable rivers (one of these is the Ems, on which Drusus defeated the Bructeri in a naval engagement), also running from the South Northward to the ocean; for the country rises towards the South, and forms a mountain ridge continuous with the Alps, stretching eastward like a spur of the Alps; and indeed some have so described it, on account of its position, and because it produces the same growth of trees, although of course the chain is not so elevated. Here also is the Hercynian forest, and the peoples of the Suevi, partly situated within the forest, as are the tribes of the Quadi. Amongst these last is Buiaemum, the royal abode of Marobudus, to which place he transplanted the Marcomani, a kindred tribe, with many others. For after his return from Rome, he raised himself from a private station to the administration of affairs. In his youth he received kindnesses at Rome from Augustus, and after his return he acquired the sovereignty of his country, and

added to those I have already mentioned the Luji, a powerful people, and the Zumi, and Butones, and Mugilones, and Sibini, and the Semnones, a large tribe of the Suevi. As I remarked before, the Suevic peoples dwelt partly within and partly without the forest, contiguous to the Getae. Now the greatest nation is the Suevic, for it stretches from the Rhine to the Elbe, and part of it is situated even beyond the Elbe; the Hermondori, for instance, and the Langosargi; but at the present time these last have been expelled entirely beyond that river. A common feature in all these peoples is their facility in removing their abodes, a facility arising from the scantiness of provisions, and the absence of agriculture, or the accumulation of wealth. They dwell in huts, satisfying their wants from day to day, living chiefly on their herds of cattle, like the Nomade races; in imitation of whom they place their households in waggons, and with their cattle wander wherever it seems best. There are other German tribes inferior to these; the Cherusci, Chatti, Gamabrivii, and Chattuarii; on the shores of the ocean are the Sugambri and Chaubi, and Bructeri and Cimbri, Cauci, Caulci, Campsiani, and many others. In the same direction as the Ems flow the Weser and Lippe; the latter some 600 stadia distant from the Rhine, running through the Lesser Bructeri. There is also the river Sala, between which and the Rhine, in the midst of great successes in war, Drusus Germanicus died. This general conquered not only the greater part of the various tribes, but sixteen islands along the coast as well, one of which is Burchanis, which he laid siege to and took. The Rhine is about 3000 stadia distant from the Elbe, in a direct line; but one is compelled to make a circuit, through tortuous and marshy roads and forests. The Hercynian forest is thickly wooded and overgrown with large trees, covering ground of vast extent, strongly fortified by nature. In the centre of it lies the habitable region already described. Near it are the sources of the Danube and the Rhine, and the lake between them, and the marshes formed by the Rhine. The circuit of the lake is more than 300 stadia, and the distance across nearly 200. In this lake is an island, used by Tiberius as the base of his naval operations against the Vindelici. It, as well as the Hercynian forest, lies south of the sources of the Danube; consequently, in

travelling from Keltica to the Hercynian forest, you must first cross the lake, then the Danube, and afterwards by an easier route approach the forest through high table-lands.

The Cimbri are said to have had a peculiar custom; in their expeditions they are accompanied by their women, and attended by hoary-headed priestesses, clad in white robes, with cloaks of flax clasped round them, girt with brazen belts, and barefooted. These, holding swords in their hands, advanced through the camp to meet the captives; and after decorating them with crowns led them to a brazen bowl, raised on steps. Mounting these a priestess cut the throat of each prisoner, raising him above the cauldron; and then from the blood that fell into the bowl, they drew certain intimations. Others tearing the victim open, after inspecting the entrails, announced victory to their friends. In the contests they beat hides, stretched on the wicker bodies of their chariots, so as to make a prodigious noise.

POMPONIUS MELA.

(Book III., c. 2, 3.)

The Rhine, on descending from the Alps near its head waters, forms two lakes, Venetus, and Acronius (Bodensee). Then, running for a considerable distance in a compact body, and flowing in a clearly-defined channel, it separates into various streams at no great distance from the ocean. The river, towards the left, throughout this latter part of its course until it enters the sea, is still called the Rhine; on the right side, the river at first remains narrow, as in its earlier portion; afterwards, its banks recede, and the stream is no longer a river, but a vast lake, filling the plains, under the name of Flevo; and after encircling an island of the same name, it again contracts, and enters the ocean under the form of a river. From this point to the Alps Germany is bounded by its banks, on the South by the Alps, on the East by the neighbouring tribes of Sarmatia, on the Northern frontier by the ocean. Its inhabitants are savage in spirit and uncouth in form, and in addition to their natural fierceness, they heighten their courage by warfare, and

habituate their bodies to hardships, and especially cold. In their earlier years they wear no clothing, and youth lasts long amongst them. Those who are grown up wear cloaks, or the bark of trees, however severe the winter. They not only have no repugnance to swimming, but actually revel in it. They are constantly at war with their neighbours, the causes of which spring from mere caprice; not from any desire to acquire power, or enlarge their possessions (for they take no pains to cultivate what they have), but to have a desert round them. With them might is right, and therefore even acts of robbery involve no disgrace; they are good-natured only to strangers, and kind to suppliants; in their mode of living they are so rough and uncivilized as to eat meat raw or freshly killed, or else, while all stiff in the skins of their cattle and wild animals, they first soften it by working it with their hands and feet. Their country is intersected by many rivers, rough with many mountain ranges, and throughout a large portion of its extent impassable from woods and marshes. Of these last, the chief are, the Suesia marsh, the Estia, and Melsiagum. Its chief woods are, the Hercynian, and some others possessing distinct names; but the former, being sixty days' journey across, is larger, and therefore better known than the rest. Its loftiest mountains are Taunus and Rhetico, excepting some whose names a Roman mouth can hardly pronounce. Of the rivers which flow through other countries besides Germany the Danube and the Rhone are the most important; the Main and the Lippe of those which fall into the Rhine; the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, of those which reach the ocean. Beyond the Elbe the Sinus Codanus, a vast gulf, is crowded with islands. Consequently, the sea, which is received into the embrace of the shores, no where presents a wide expanse, or at all resembles a true sea; on the contrary, from its waters penetrating in every direction, and often rising above their banks, it spreads itself like rivers in a wandering and widely-diffused course; where it touches the shores, confined by the banks of the islands at no great distance on almost every side alike, it is narrow, and nearly like a strait; then, curving, it makes a bend round a long jutting promontory, in which the Cimbri and Teutoni are found, and beyond them the Hermiones, the remotest inhabitants of Germany.

PLINIUS.

(Book IV., 27—29.)

Clearer information dawns upon us as we approach the tribe of Ingaevones, the first people in Germany in that quarter. An extensive mountain range, called Sevo, equal in height to the Riphaean chain, makes a vast gulf known by the name of Codanus, stretching as far as the promontory of the Cimbri, and crowded with islands. Of these the most famous is Scandinavia, of unascertained extent, the only part known being occupied by 500 cantons of the tribe of Hilleviones, who term it a second world. Eningia is thought to be equally large. Some authors tell us these regions, as far as the river Vistula, are occupied by Sarmatæ, Venedi, Sciri, and Hirri. The promontory of the Cimbri, jutting far out into the sea, makes a peninsula called Cartris. Three-and-twenty islands are known to the Roman arms; of which the most famous is called Fabaria (Borkum), from its resemblance to a wild bean. Again, there is Glessaria (Ameland), from the amber found by our soldiers; the barbarians themselves call it Austrania; Actania (Schelling) is another of these islands.

Of the Germans there are five races; the Vindili, subdivided into Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, and Guttones; the second are the Ingaevones, consisting, amongst others, of Cimbri, Teutoni, and the various tribes of Chauci. Nearest to the Rhine are the Istaevones; the Cimbri of the interior belong to these; fourthly, there are the Hermiones, consisting of Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. The fifth race is the Peucini Bastarnae bordering on the Daci. Several well-known rivers fall into the sea, the Guttalus (Pregel), Vistula, Elbe, Weser, Ems, Rhine, Maas. The Hercynian range stretches towards the interior, equal in celebrity to any mountain chain. In the very channel of the Rhine, extending about one hundred miles in length, is situated the famous island of the Batavi and Cannenufates; besides this there are other islands belonging to the Frisii, Chauci, Frisiabones, Sturii, Marsacii, strewing the coast between Helium Ostium and Flevum Ostium. These are the names of the mouths where the Rhine, discharging itself by

separate channels, is subdivided on the northern side into certain lakes, on the western into the river Maas; by the mouth between these it rolls a moderate volume to the sea, retaining its own name.

PLINY.

(Book XVI., c. 1.)

(From Bohn's Classical Library.)

Another marvel, too, connected with the forests; they cover all the rest of Germany, and by their shade augment the cold. But the highest of them all are those not far distant from the Chauci, and more particularly in the vicinity of the two lakes there. The very shores are lined with oaks. . . . . . In the same northern regions, too, is the Hercynian forest, whose gigantic oaks, by their near approach to immortality, surpass all other marvels known.

GERMANIA.

The variations from Massmann's text are as follows: B denotes the reading of Bekker; R, that of Ritter; M, that of Massmann. The readings of the fifth column represent those adopted in this edition.

C. II.	M.	genus	B. R.	genus est
	M.	Tuisconem	B.	Tuistonem
	M.	conditoris	B. R.	conditores
	M.	Herminones	B. R.	Hermiones
	M.	Iscaevones	B. R.	Istaevones
	M.	Vandilios	B. R.	Vandalios
C. III.	M.	baritum		barditum (in brackets R)
C. XIV.	M.	victricem	B. R.	victricemque
	M.	imo	B. R.	immo
C. XVIII.	M.	rursus, quae	B. R.	rursusque
C. XIX.	M.	abscisis	B. R.	accisis
C. XX.	M.	ad patrem	B. R.	apud patrem
C. XXII.	M.	inimicitiis	B. R.	inimicis
C. XXXII.	M.	Usipi	B. R.	Usipii
C. XXXIV.	M.	Dulgubini	B. R.	Dulgibini
C. XXXIX.	M.	pagi iis habitantur	B. R.	pagis habitant
C. XL.	M.	Vithones	B.	Nuithones
	M.	Nerthum		Hertham
C. XLIII.	M.	Helvetonas	B. R.	Helveconas
	M.	Nahanarvalos	B. R.	Naharvalos
C. XLIV.	M.	in ordine	B. R.	in ordinem

CAII CORNELII TACITI

DE SITU, MORIBUS, ET POPULIS GERMANIAE LIBELLUS.

I. Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis, Rheno et Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque,

I. *Germania*] The country intended by Tacitus is Germania east of the Rhine, sometimes called Trans-rhenana, Magna, or Barbara. Distinct from this was Germania Cis-rhenana, a district west of the Rhine, occupied by transplanted Germanic tribes. This was subdivided into Germania Prima, or Superior, extending from Augusta Rauracorum (Augst), a little above Bâle, to Moguntiacum (Mainz), and Germania Secunda or Inferior, reaching from this last point to the sea. These two divisions are comprehended in the plural form Germaniae, used by Tacitus (A. ii. 73). The area, embraced under the name Germania, by our author, is larger than that included in its modern equivalent, Germany. It extended from the Rhine to the Vistula and the Carpathian mountains; and from the Baltic to the Danube: thus comprising Mecklenburg, Pomerania, West Prussia, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bohemia, Poland, Silesia, Denmark, Sweden, &c. In fact, according to the view of Tacitus, Germany was the entire country occupied by German races. In placing these so far east of the Elbe, he was, I think, clearly in error; at which one can hardly be surprised, considering how scanty his means of information with respect to these regions and people must have been. There is little doubt that the population in this quarter was Slavonic, not German; for the older the names of the rivers, mountains, &c., of this region, the more surely they are Slavonic; and there is certain evidence that between the ninth and tenth centuries after Christ these countries were mainly occupied by that race. In the entire absence of any record of the expulsion of the Germanic peoples by them, this is fair ground for inferring similar occupancy at the time of Tacitus.

omnis] i. e. 'Germany entire,' as distinguished from the two provinces of Germania Superior and Inferior, regarded as detached fragments, dislocated from the true German area. So Caesar speaks of 'Gallia omnis' (B. G. i. 1), as distinguished from Cisalpine Gaul. The order here, and in the passage just quoted, is worth noticing; the name of the country to be described in the work occupies the emphatic

mutuo metu, aut montibus separatur. Cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complec-

position. Suetonius, on the contrary (Julius Caesar, 25), under a different view, writes "omnem Galliam in provinciae formam redegit."

Raetisque] Raetia Proper, or Prima, extended from the Helvetii to Noricum, embracing the upper portions of the valleys of the Licus (Lech), Aenus (Inn), and Athesis (Adige), the modern Grisons, Tyrol, and part of Lombardy. Tacitus seems to include under this name Vindelicia, or Raetia Secunda, between Raetia Prima and the Danube, including Southern Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, and Noricum, east of the Aenus (H. iii. 5), as far as the Mons Cetius (the Kahlenburg), comprising the modern Salzburg, and Carinthia. Perhaps, as Dr. Latham suggests, he regarded the whole as forming only one ethnological group, and therefore mentioned them under one name only.

Pannoniis] The country occupied by this people stretched from Mons Cetius to the Danube, near its junction with the Tibiscus (Theiss), and from the Danube in the North to the Savus (Save) in the South, comprising Croatia, Carniola, Bosnia, Slavonia, Western Hungary, Styria, and part of Lower Austria. It was divided into Upper and Lower Pannonia, west and east respectively of the Arrabo (Raab).

Sarmatis] This race occupied the vast region between the Vistula and the Tanais (Don), embracing modern Poland, East Prussia, Lithuania, and Russia. These people are described by Pliny (vi. 7) as 'Medorum, ut ferunt, soboles;' and from an examination of their language they are supposed to belong to the Indo-Germanic family. In the time of Herodotus they were on the left bank of the Don, and gradually advanced westward. The name disappears from history after the third century, and is replaced by that of Slavi, Slavini, &c., the modern Slavonic race, now spread more or less over Poland, Russia, Croatia, Carinthia, Styria, Bohemia, &c.

Dacisque] When Dacia became a Roman province, after the conquests of Trajan, its boundaries were the Tibiscus on the West, and the Hierasus (Pruth) on the East, while it stretched from the Mons Carpatus to the Danube; thus comprising Wallachia, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Eastern Hungary.

mutuo metu] Where there is no physical boundary between the Germans on the one hand and Dacians and Sarmatians on the other, they still forbear to molest each other, each being afraid to attack the other. In other quarters they are separated by mountain chains; the Carpathians forming a barrier between the Germans and Sarmatians, and the Medves range and the Bakonyer Wald, between the former and the Dacians.

latos sinus] 'Embracing in its range broad peninsulas and vast insular tracts.' 'Sinus' is a term for any thing that is gathered into a fold or makes a bend, and most commonly is used for gulfs, bays, and the like, but also for projecting headlands where the boundary line makes a sweep. Tacitus here seems to speak of the Danish peninsula, Holstein, Sleswig, and Jütland. The word comes to mean any distant nook or corner, as, c. 29, 'sinus imperii,' and in Agric. 23, 'omnis propior sinus Britanniae.' The 'insularum spatia,' are no doubt amongst others Seeland, Funen, Norway and Sweden; for Tacitus considered the Scandinavian peninsula to be an island. Cf. Plinius iv. 27, "qui (sinus) Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis, quarum clarissima Scandinavia est."

tens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus quos bellum aperuit. Rhenus Raeticarum Alpium inaccesso

nuper cognitis] Compare Annals, ii. 24. The chief knowledge of Germany possessed by the Romans was gained, after the conquests of Julius Caesar, from the expeditions of Domitius Ahenobarbus (A. i. 63, and iv. 44; Suetonius, Nero 4), and especially those of Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, and his son Caesar Germanicus. The former was the first Roman general who penetrated to the German Ocean (c. 34), probably by the Canal of Drusus, from the northern arm of the Rhine near Arnheim to the Sala (Yssel) at Doesberg. Possibly he may have reached the Amisia (Ems) and subjugated the islands of the coast. Subsequently he reached the Visurgis (Weser), but had to retire; afterwards he penetrated into the country of the Suevi, and turning his arms against the Cherusci, reached the Elbe, but without advancing further retired and soon after died, B.C. 9.

Caesar Germanicus, after visiting Germany on the destruction of Varus and his legions, in conjunction with Tiberius, commenced a brilliant career in that country. He crossed the Rhine, and after crushing the Marsi and Chatti, on the organization of a revolt against the Romans by Arminius, embarked in a flotilla, and sailing by the Lacus Flevus (Zuydersee) to the ocean and up the Ems, laid waste the country between that river and the Lippe. In the following year collecting a fleet at the Insula Batavorum, he sailed by the Canal of Drusus and the Flevus to the sea, and disembarking at Amisia on the Ems, crossed that river and the Weser, and defeated Arminius. On returning by the Ems to the ocean, the fleet was shattered by terrific storms, and the soldiers dispersed along the coast. From these stragglers, on their return, a good deal of information, accompanied, according to Tacitus, with a good deal of fable, was gleaned. Soon after these events, Germanicus was recalled, A.D. 16. In A.D. 84, the emperor Domitian undertook a campaign against the Chatti, and apparently with some trifling success; but although Tacitus says 'nuper cognitis,' he can hardly refer to this. No doubt he used the word loosely, referring to the campaigns mentioned above; the date of which would be from 80 to 100 years before the publication of the Germania.

Rhenus] The ancient geographers—Strabo, for instance (iv. 3)—made the Rhine rise in Mount Adula. As this last author also places the sources of the Addua (Adda) in the same mountain, he probably regarded the Upper Rhine as the true river, and not the Lower Rhine, which has a course less directly northwards. In that case the mountain would be the range near the passes of the Splügen, and S. Bernardino, not the St. Gothard. The Raetian Alps, mentioned here, are the Grisons and the Tyrol.

The name of the Rhine seems only another form of Rhodanus, and to be connected with Eridanus, Danube, Don, Tanais, &c. In this view the name was a Keltic one, signifying the water, or river; perhaps originally the name for a part of the river only, and used by the Romans to designate the whole.

Alpium] This word apparently, like Rhine and Danube, is of Keltic origin; its root being 'alb,' high, the same word appearing in Albion, the hilly land, or Scotland, and thence Great Britain generally. At all events, the derivation, mentioned by Festus, from the Sabine 'alpus,' equivalent to the Latin 'albus,' in the sense of white, snow-clad mountains, does not seem worth much.

ac praecipiti vertice ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus, septemtrionali Oceano miscetur. Danubius, molli et clementer edito montis Abnobae jugo effusus, plures populos adit, donec in Ponticum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum enim os paludibus hauritur.

II. Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque

modico flexu] This is sometimes referred to the head of the river between Bregenz and Bâle; the objection to which view is that the turn is any thing but moderate, being all but directly west, whereas the word 'modicus' seems to imply a gradual sweep westward. It refers, no doubt, to the portion of the river lying between Arenacum (Arnheim), and Lugdunum Batavorum (Leyden).

Danubius] As stated above, under Rhenus, the derivation of this word seems the Keltic Don, or Dan, water. The upper portion of the stream, as far as Vienna, commonly went by this name: below that town Ister was the usual term. According to Adelung, Danubius is equivalent to the upper water, and (Dan)ister, the lower water.

Abnobae] This is the range of the Schwarzwald, or Black Forest, extending from the Oberland of Baden to Pforzheim; on the eastern declivity of which, at a height of about 3000 feet, are the sources of the Danube.

plures populos] Beginning at the head of the river, aud advancing eastward, there would be the Vindelici, Norici, Pannonii, and Maesi, on the right bank: on the left the occupants of the Decumates Agri, Narisci, Marcomani, Quadi, and Daci; the river being divided between the Keltic, Teutonic, and Slavonic races.

Sex meatibus] The ancients were not agreed upon the number of the mouths of the Danube. Herodotus (iv. 47) mentions five; Pliny (iv. 24), six; Strabo (vii. 3), seven; and Mela (ii. 1), the same, four only being navigable. There are still seven mouths, of which the Sulina mouth is of the greatest importance.

erumpat] There is another reading here, 'erumpit;' and it is worth one's while to note the difference between the two expressions. 'Donec,' meaning 'until,' is used with the indicative to convey the expression of some actual fact; as in A. i. 5, "nuntii vulgabantur donec excessisse Augustum fama eadem tulit." 'Donec' with the subjunctive is used when the event is not stated positively, but only contemplated as a future contingency; A. i. 32, "eo usque flagitatus est donec ad exitium dederetur." The difference between the two cases seems in some degree analogous to that between ἕως ἦλθεν and ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ in Greek. One easily sees how this last sense merges into the notion of an end contemplated by the agent, and proposed to himself as his aim; and this seems the view to be taken of this passage, and a similar one in A. ii. 6, "Rhenus Germaniam praevehitur donec Oceano misceatur." Here 'donec erumpit,' or 'miscetur,' would mean 'until it actually enters the sea;' 'donec erumpat,' or 'misceatur,' is 'until such time as it shall succeed in its aim of forcing its way to the sea.' Compare also c. 35.

II. *indigenas*] 'Indigena' is derived from 'indu,' a form of 'in,' still found in 'induperator' for 'imperator,' and 'gigno.' To be thus αὐτόχθονες was a matter of boast amongst the ancients. Cf. Arist. Vesp. 1076. Thucyd. ii. 36. As far as the Germans are

aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiis mixtos: quia nec terra olim sed classibus advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quaerebant; et immensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus Oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis

concerned, there is little doubt that the Teutonic races belonged to the Indo-Germanic stock once occupying Bactriana and part of Armenia; a fact rendered almost certain from the general resemblance of their language to those of Persia, India, &c. According to one view the name of one of the tribes of this Teutonic people, the Saxons, is itself a confirmation of this; that appellation being a corruption from Saca sunu, sons of the Sacae. They formed then a portion of that people who, ages ago, issued from the regions of Upper Asia, and making their way by the Caucasus and the route north of the Caspian and Euxine seas, entered Europe. Under this view they are more or less of the same stock as the Greeks, Latins, Kelts, and Slavonians. As for the time of their entering Europe nothing whatever is known; although some consider the great inroads to have been successively those of the Fins, Kelts, Slavonians, Teutons, these last cutting through the Slavonians, and being insulated by their closing up behind.

quia nec terra olim] Tacitus gives three reasons for his belief in the indigenous origin of the Germans; first, that the chief movements of nations were by sea, and the sea of those countries was too boisterous to venture on; secondly, that the land had no attractions to offer to foreigners to induce them to settle in it; and, thirdly, because the traditions of the Germans themselves represented them as the original occupiers of the soil.

As far as the first of these reasons is concerned, Tacitus was misled by the want of any adequate knowledge of the great movements of the early races who successively entered Europe. No doubt the emigrations with which he was historically acquainted were effected by sea; the colonization, for instance, of the African coast by the Phoenicians, of certain parts of Greece by the Egyptians, of Massilia by the Phocaeans, and others, was maritime. The great movements, however, by which Europe was peopled were in some instances, at all events, long anterior to the rise of commerce, and the route was undoubtedly over land, above the Euxine.

nec terra .... et] These two particles are united in this way, because the former is equivalent to 'et non;' and then a second 'et' follows naturally, in the next clause. Cf. Cicero's Epist. ad Fam. x. 1, "Furnium nostrum tanti a te fieri nec miror et gaudeo," and A. xv. 28, "neque atrox in summam et quibusdam praefecturis inducias petit." So in Greek *οὔτε* is followed by *τε*. Cf. Plato, Apol. 26, C, *ἢ παντάπασι με φῂς οὔτε αὐτὸν νομίζειν θεοὺς τούς τε ἄλλους ταῦτα διδάσκειν.*

advehebantur] This word, of course, only suits 'classibus,' and another verb must be supplied to suit 'terra.' Cf. A. iv. 49, "dein fossam loricamque contexens," and A. vi. 24, "ut quemadmodum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem caedibus complevisset."

adversus] I do not think this means 'opposite to us,' at our antipodes, a sense the word has in Cic. Somn. Scip. 6; but only 'hostile,' 'difficult of navigation.' The objection made by Walther, that, if so, the apologetic expression, 'utque sic dixerim' is unnecessary, does not seem worth much. Tacitus may have thought the idea of the

porro praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret informem terris, asperam coelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit? Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est) Tuistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis

ocean showing a sort of active hostility to navigators required a little softening down by an introductory phrase. This boisterousness of the German Ocean appears to have struck Tacitus; cf. A. ii. 24, "quanto violentior cetero mari oceanus et truculentia coeli praestat Germania;" and he has a similar remark to the present one in c. 34 of this book, "sed obstitit Oceanus in se inquiri." The Romans certainly had not much encouragement in navigating these seas; the disasters Germanicus met with, and the alarming account of their horrors his soldiers carried home, would hardly induce traders to visit them.

nisi si] Some of the MSS. have 'nisi patria sit,' which does not appear to be right; for 'nisi si' expresses the possibility of the occurrence of the matter in question; whereas 'nisi,' used ironically in the sense of 'nisi forte,' does not contemplate any such possibility, but the reverse.

carminibus] Of these old Teutonic songs no specimens have survived; and yet, indirectly, we can form a pretty accurate idea of their probable form and subjects. Anglo-Saxon poems have come down; for instance, the Adventures of Beowulf, and the Traveller's Song, the antiquity of which is carried by some to the sixth or seventh centuries after Christ; and one may suppose them to be fair representatives of the mould in which the earlier songs of the race were cast. If so, in these verses there was neither quantity nor rhyme, but simply the recurrence, within short distances, of similar sounds or letters, either repeated in the same or successive lines. This will be seen at once in a specimen from the Traveller's Song, where the alliterative letters are printed in Italics.—

*Œ*tla weold Hunum,
*E*ormanric Gotum,
*B*ecca *B*aningum,
*B*urgendum Gifica.

The general character of these ancient poems, as regards matter, is also ascertained from the two Eddas, compiled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by two Icelandic scholars, Sigfusson and Snorro Sturleson, and containing all that remained of traditionary Scandinavian mythology. They are filled with the adventures of the gods, Odin and his sons, their battles against the powers of evil, giants, &c. (See Oxford Essays for 1858, No. 5.)

Tuistonem] Although I have retained this reading out of deference to the MSS., yet I think 'Tuisconem' is very likely the true one. This last word may be regarded as an adjective, the 'isk' being the same as our 'ish' in 'selfish,' and 'Tui' or 'Tiu' being connected with 'Deus,' 'divus,' &c., and appearing in the Edda under the form Tyr, Odin's son, from whom our Tuesday derives its appellation.

Mannum] This name is curiously like the Hindoo Menu, the Egyptian Menes, the Lydian Manes, and the Cretan Minos. Probably it is the same as the German Mensch, and our 'man,' and in it and Tuisco humanity and divinity are personified.

originem gentis] It was the usual custom of the nations of antiquity to

conditoresque. Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Hermiones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur. Quidam ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios adfirmant: eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum: quoniam, qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint, ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen

trace their pedigree up to some imaginary hero. The Greeks, for instance, had an ancestor Hellen; and the Aeolians, Aeolus.

Ingaevones, &c.] There seems no possibility of success in the attempt to arrange accurately the various tribes under these heads. Nevertheless, it may be true in the main, that the Ingaevones are the men of the Ing-gau, i.e. the country of the Angli, and synonymous therefore with our name England; under which view the Ingaevones would represent the great Saxon confederacy. The Iscaevones (a various reading for Istaevones) would be the men of the Isk district, or the Franks of a later age. The Hermiones again, or Herminones, for there are both readings, would be the army men, the high Germans of the South. (See Cambridge Essays, 1856, No. 2, on English Ethnology, by the late Dr. Donaldson.)

Marsos] The Marsi seem to have once been settled in Westphalia, between Munster and Paderborn; but they withdrew further into the interior, and occupied the country between the Lippe and the Ruhr, or still further south. They seem to have been concerned in the affair of Varus and his legions, and were severely punished by Germanicus, who destroyed the famous temple of Tanfana, situated near their boundaries. (A. i. 51, &c.) As they are not again mentioned by Tacitus, in his account of the various tribes, they had perhaps ceased to possess any separate existence.

Gambrivii] Strabo mentions this people; perhaps they are the same as the Chamavi in c. 33.

Vandalios] Originally this tribe was settled on the northern coast of Germany, in Pomerania; later they were found near the Riesengebirge (the Vandalici Montes in Dion Cassius, lv. 1), north of the Marcomani; subsequently they occupied Pannonia and Dacia, and about A.D. 400 entered Spain. Driven hence by the Goths, they crossed to Africa, and were there conquered by Justinian, A.D. 534.

Germaniae] Tacitus does not mean that the word itself was only recently used. It seems to have been known long before his time; for in the Fasti Capitolini, for B.C. 222, they are mentioned apparently as defeated with the Insubrian Gauls by the Roman consul Marcellus. What he intends to say is, that the name had only recently been given to the whole country, having previously been the designation of a single tribe; just as the Graeci, a tribe somewhere in the vicinity of the Achelous, eventually gave their name to the whole country of Greece.

Tungri—Germani] Various meanings have been assigned to the latter of these words. According to some they were called Germani, as true Gauls, and brothers of the Keltic race; according to others the name

non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a seipsis invento nomine, Germani vocarentur.

is connected with the Germani, a Persian tribe (Herod. i. 125); others derive it from the German, Gwer, or Wehr, making it equivalent to warriors (Wehrmänner). The objection to all which views is this, that as the Germans never used the term to designate themselves by, the Romans were not likely to have adopted it, if it were derived from a Teutonic root. It seems most likely to be a Keltic word, derived from the Gaelic 'goir,' or 'gair,' to cry out, and 'gairm,' 'gairmean,' a cry: in the sense of men good at the battle-shout; like Homer's βοὴν ἀγαθός. If so, it was the name used by their neighbours to designate the Germans; not by the Germans to designate either the whole, or any portion of themselves. This practice of calling a people by a name never adopted by themselves is common enough: for instance, the inhabitants of the Principality are called Cumraig by themselves, and Welsh by every one else. Probably the variety of name in Germani and Tungri, both belonging to the same people, is to be explained not by assigning different dates, as Tacitus does here, but by considering the former to be the Keltic, and the latter the Teutonic designation, existing simultaneously. As for the meaning of the name 'Tungri,' it may be connected with the German 'Zunge,' and our own 'tongue;' and will represent the appellation adopted by the Teutonic invaders as the speakers of an intelligible language, in contrast with the division of the Keltic race with which they were in contact after crossing the river.

The part occupied by the Tungri seems to have been that held previously by the Eburones, in the modern province of Limburg, near Tongres, Liège, and Maastricht.

ita nationis] Here, as elsewhere, 'natio' is used in a more restricted sense than 'gens,' the latter comprising the whole of the race, of which 'natio' formed a subdivision. Cf. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 98, "omnibus ejusdem gentis nationibus in arma accensis."

'Ita' here is 'accordingly,' and does not belong to the following 'ut,' in the sense of 'adeo ut,' 'to such a degree, that' &c.

omnes primum a victore] The meaning of this passage is not very clear, and there are various explanations of it. I think it ought to be construed, 'In this way, the name of a particular tribe, not of the whole race, gradually prevailed, so that all were called Germans, first by the victorious tribe, with the object of striking terror (into the Gauls), and subsequently by themselves after their assumption of this name.' The two clauses, 'a victore,' and 'a seipsis,' having the same form, must be construed in the same way; and the sense can hardly therefore be that the name of Germans was derived from the conqueror, as Walch and others suppose it to be. As far as I understand the passage, it means this: the Tungri having crossed the Rhine, established themselves on the left bank: in order to keep the neighbouring Gauls in a chronic state of fear, and possibly deter them from combining to expel them, they were constantly reminding them of the probability of the arrival of other tribes like themselves to effect further conquests. As their own name of Germani was an alarming one to the Gauls, they thought it politic to apply the same appellation to their country-

III. Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant; primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. Sunt illis haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso cantu augurantur: terrent enim,

men generally. Presently these tribes themselves saw their advantage in adopting the same name, as it invested them at once with a formidable prestige. In this view 'ob metum' is equivalent to 'ut metus Gallis injiceretur.'

III. *Herculem*] See the note on the German deities in c. 9.

haec quoque carmina] These songs in honour of Hercules, and other heroes (cf. A. ii. 88, "Arminius canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes"), chanted before entering into battle, to inflame the courage of the warriors, are to be distinguished from the purely mythological poems, mentioned in c. 2, "celebrant carminibus antiquis," &c.

Ritter makes a difficulty about the words 'quem Barditum vocant,' on the ground that these songs were evidently sung by the whole line of fighting men. (Cf. H. iv. 18, and ii. 22.) I do not see much in this; for while the Scalds chanted, the men, if the songs were familiar, as they often would be, might easily join in.

relatu] This word only occurs in Tacitus, instead of the usual form 'relatio;' cf. A. xv. 22. H. i. 30: although about the former passage there may be some doubt.

Barditum] The usual name for a poet in the Germanic tongues was 'scop,' and in the Scandinavian 'scald;' while the word 'barditus' is of Keltic origin. If so, the Germans can hardly be thought to have designated a native custom by a foreign term. The practice of course existed amongst them, as well as amongst the Kelts; and I think it probable that Tacitus derived his information in this respect through a Keltic source, and consequently the practice of the Germans, resembling as it did that of the Gauls, was not unnaturally described by his informers in words familiar to their ears, as descriptive of their own custom. Lucan, i. 447, mentions these Keltic bards:—

"Vos quoque ——
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.
—— Certe populi quos despicit Arctos
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum rediturae parcere vitae."

This custom was retained by the Scandinavian nations. Hacon, Earl of Norway, in one of his battles, is said to have been attended by five Scalds, each of whom sang an ode to inspirit the warriors before the fray began; and the verses, chanted by the Scalds of Olave King of Norway in battle, have been preserved.

futuraeque pugnae] This idea of divining the result of a battle from the character of the shouts raised by the two armies before engaging, existed amongst the Highlanders. At the battle of Killicrankie, Cameron declared to his men that the battle would be gained because their shouts were more lively than those of their opponents,—a prediction, as it happened, verified. (See Aikin on the passage.)

trepidantve, prout sonuit acies. Nec tam voces illae, quam virtutis concentus, videntur; adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, objectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat. Ceterum et Ulixem quidam opinantur, longo illo et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum, adisse Germaniae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum, nominatumque. Aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam: monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis literis inscriptos, in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc exstare: quae neque confirmare argumentis, neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat vel addat fidem.

IV. Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae

Ulixem] The ten years' wandering of Ulysses formed a convenient receptacle for stray traditions or guesses amongst the ancients. Strabo (iii. 2) gets him to Iberia, as the founder of Ulyssea, or Lisbon. Solinus carries him still further north, to Caledonia.

Asciburgium] Probably the modern Asburg, where many antiquities have been found. near the left bank of the Lower Rhine, at no great distance from Neuss (opposite to Düsseldorf). There are many derivations suggested for the name. It seems to me most likely to be connected with the Isk, in the form Iscaevones, a various reading, noticed in c. 2. Others connect it with Asgard, the city of the gods, so often mentioned in the Eddas; others make it equivalent to the ash-tree hills ('esche,' 'berg').

Ulixi consecratam] I think, from the general turn of the passage, this means an altar, dedicated to Ulysses, as their founder, by the townsmen of Asciburgium. Tacitus elsewhere, A. ii. 7, uses 'aram Druso sitam disjecerant,' almost certainly in the sense of 'erected in honour of Drusus.' I said from the general turn of the passage, because the mere use of the dative for the ablative with a preposition is hardly any proof; for Tacitus has 'Callistus mihi narratus' (A. xi. 29); 'lacus Romanis classibus navigatos' (c. 34), &c.

Graecis literis] Caesar mentions (i. 29) that in the camp of the Helvetii were found lists made out in Greek characters; and also says (vi. 14) that the Druids employ the same. If these really were genuine Greek letters, the knowledge of them no doubt spread from Massilia, a Phocaean colony; but it was probably very partially extended (cf. Caesar, v. 48). As for these inscriptions on the confines of Raetia, as that country was Keltic, the characters were probably Keltic also; although I believe Greek inscriptions have been found in that neighbourhood by Count Marsigli, for an account of which the reader must consult his work, 'Danubius Pannonico-Mysicus.'

quae neque &c.] There is a very similar phrase in Livy's preface, "Ea nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est," which Tacitus may have had in view when he wrote this sentence.

populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos, propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem exstitisse arbitrantur. Unde habitus quoque corporum, quanquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et coerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem patientia: minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inediam caelo solove adsueverunt.

IV. *nullis aliis aliarum*] Ritter and others omit 'aliis;' but I think it may be defended, by comparing such phrases as 'Duo reges alius alia via' (Liv. i. 21), which are constantly occurring. Translate: 'who believe the Germans, having never had their national type altered for the worse by intermarriages with other nations, in various directions, to have formed,' &c. The commentators bring some passages to show that 'inficio' and 'vitio' do not always imply a change for the worse. I think however that here Tacitus certainly does mean that any intermixture of blood would make the race deteriorate.

sinceram] The word is used here in its original sense, 'without admixture' or 'alloy:' apparently derived from the notion of honey free from any admixture of wax.

truces et coerulei] This fierceness of aspect was a peculiarity of the Germans mentioned to Caesar by the Gauls and Roman traders (Caesar i. 39, "sese ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse"). The physical features here mentioned are often alluded to by the Roman writers: "Coerula quis stupuit Germani lumina? flavam Caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro," Juv. xiii. 164. Horace mentions one of them (Ep. xvi. 7), "Nec fera coerulea domuit Germania pube." Cf. also Agricola 11. The Germans endeavoured to increase the redness of their hair by the use of a kind of soap, 'lixivium' (Plin. xxviii. 12), and this was used by the Romans, as Martial notices (Ep. viii. 33), "Et mutat Latias spuma Batava comas." The prevalence of these physical features (although they are still preserved to a considerable extent, especially amongst the people of the highlands of middle Germany, and the adjoining borders of the northern lowlands) is by no means, in our day, universal amongst the Germans: nevertheless, as compared with the dark complexions and hair of Italy, these descriptions of them were no doubt true; besides which the type of the race may have been materially altered by intermixture with other nations.

magna corpora] Strabo (vii. 1) says the Germans were bigger men than the Kelts, although these last were always considered a much taller race than the Italians. Sidonius Apollinaris makes a joke about the Muses scorning a metre of six feet when the patrons of her verse were seven feet high.

laboris] Caesar (vi. 21) says the Germans 'labori ac duritiae student;' by this he means probably that they were trained up to undergo toil and hardship in war. Tacitus, on the other hand, implies that they were unable to bear protracted work.

aestumque] Cf. H. ii. 32, "jam Germano tracto in aestatem bello, fluxis corporibus mutationem soli caelique haud toleraturos." In the battle of Vercellae, the Cimbri are said by Plutarch to have been totally overcome by the excessive heat, running down with perspiration, and using their shields to cover their faces from the sun.

frigora] The mean temperature

V. Terra, etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda: humidior, qua Gallias, ventosior, qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera: ne armentis

of Germany lies somewhere between forty-five and fifty degrees of Fahrenheit, not differing, I believe, much from that of London. But it seems probable that the climate of Europe generally was more severe in winter than it is now; and it was certainly so in Germany, one indication being that reindeer appear to have existed there, now only found in much higher latitudes. No doubt the clearing away the forests, draining the marshes, and similar operations, have considerably mitigated the climate.

caelo solove] Another reading proposed here is 'caelo soloque:' that would mean that the climate and soil produced equally endurance against cold and hunger. What Tacitus implies is that the climate produces this endurance in the one case, and the natural character of the soil endurance in the other.

V. *aliquanto*] Ernesti remarks that 'aliquanto' and 'aliquantum' nearly always mean not 'to some extent,' but 'to a large extent;' in other words, they have the idea of magnitude attached to them.

silvis horrida] These forests lay chiefly in the parts occupied by the High Germans in Thuringia, Suabia, Hesse, and Franconia. Some of the best known were the Hercynia, Marciana (Southern part of the Black Forest), Bacenis, Semanus (parts of the Hartz and Thüringerwald), Gabreta (the Böhmerwald), the Caesia (between the Lippe and Yssel), and the Lucus Baduhennae (in Friesland). In fact, nearly all the mountain ranges were called Silvae, from their being covered with trees. The woods are still extensive in Germany, especially amongst the hills, where the forest trees grow to a large size. The Eastern regions of the Northern lowlands abound with trees, and a narrow strip along the Baltic is covered with oaks and beeches.

paludibus foeda] These fen districts lay chiefly in the North-western parts of the country, Friesland, Westphalia, &c. Even at the present day the shores of the North Sea are lined with marshes, five or six miles across, and below the level of the ocean at high water. To these Tacitus alludes when he says it is damp towards the Gallic frontier. Pomponius Mela uses similar language (iii. 3), "ipsa multis impedita fluminibus multis montibus aspera et magna ex parte silvis ac paludibus invia." He gives the names of three, viz., Suesia, Estia, and Melsiagum.

Noricum] This country extended from the Aenus on the West, to Mons Cetius on the East, by which it was separated from Pannonia, and lay between the Danube in the North and the Save and Julian Alps in the South: it consequently comprised the modern districts of Carinthia, the Tyrol, Salzburg.

satis ferax] 'Productive in crops.' 'Sata' is used for any crops raised by cultivation. There are especially mentioned, wheat, barley, oats, millet, as grown in Germany.

arborum] Tacitus himself speaks of 'arbores frugiferae,' and 'poma agrestia' in this book; but he was thinking here no doubt of the contrast presented by Germany to Italy with its olive, vines, cherry, plum, and other rich fruit-trees.

improcera] That is, 'sed pecora improcera sunt.' They were no doubt dwarfed by the severity of the climate, as they still are in colder

quidem suus honor, aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent: eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. Argentum et aurum propitii an irati dii negaverint dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est? possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. Est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur: quanquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent, formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae agnoscunt atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. Pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. Argentum quoque magis quam aurum sequuntur, nulla

latitudes. Some corroboration of this is given by the fact that whenever the bones of oxen, sheep, &c., have been discovered in England, as they often have in large quantities, they appear to have belonged to species much less than ours at present.

suus honor, aut gloria] Tacitus includes apparently both horses and oxen in their herds; the 'suus honor' will then mean that the horses do not attain their full growth and beauty, and the cattle have only stunted horns.

argentum aurumve gignere] Tacitus (A. xi. 20) mentions a silver mine opened and worked for a short time, but soon exhausted, in the lands of the Mattiaci. Of this he probably had not heard when he wrote the present work. Caesar (vi. 28) alludes to the German custom of ornamenting horns with silver, and using them for drinking-cups. However, in the tombs that have been opened, silver articles are not often found, those of gold being more frequent. At present, I believe, silver as well as gold is found in considerable quantities in Bohemia; although not in such large amounts as 300 or 400 years ago, when as much as nine million ounces were raised in less than a century. Gold is also found in Hungary, Silesia, and Salzburg.

haud perinde] That is, as much as other people are. So Agric. 10, "mare ne ventis quidem perinde attolli:" not raised like other seas.

non in alia vilitate] i. e., held in the same low estimation as, &c.

proximi] Those who were brought most into contact with the Romans, from dwelling on the banks of the Rhine or Danube. Another reading is 'proximi oceano;' this can hardly be right. Even with the Belgae, Caesar says, the Roman traders held little intercourse, and they would hold still less with the Germans bordering on the remote ocean that washed their Northern coast.

serratos bigatosque] These coins are the 'denarii.' Compare Liv. xxiii. 15, "laetoque juveni promissis equum eximium dono dat, bigatosque quingentos quaestorem numerare jubet;" and the same author (xxxiii. 23), "tulit in triumpho argenti bigati septuaginta novem millia." These coins were silver, and on the obverse usually have the head of Rome with a helmet, or the Dioscuri or Jupiter, and on the reverse a two-horsed chariot. If their edges were notched or milled, they were called

affectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

VI. Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut majoribus lanceis utuntur: hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt,

'serrati.' If the reverse bore a four-horsed chariot, they were called 'quadrigati.'

numerus argenteorum] The standard gold coin was the 'aureus nummus,' or 'denarius:' and there were gold coins of one, two, three, and four 'scrupula,' the weight of the 'scrupulum' being eighteen grains.

The silver coins were the 'quinarius,' equal to half a 'denarius,' the 'sestertius,' equal to one quarter; the 'libella,' or 'as,' representing one tenth; the 'sembella' half the last, and the 'teruncius' half the last again; equal in value to about half a farthing. Varro mentions the 'teruncius' as a silver coin, although Cicero speaks of the 'libella' as the least.

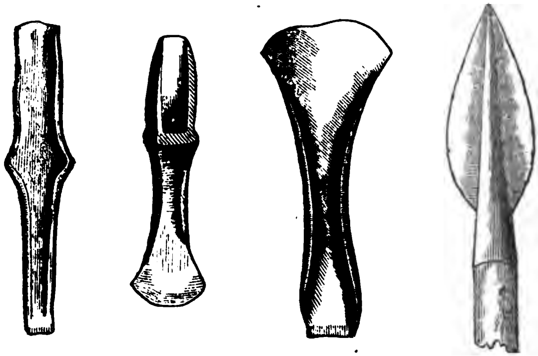
VI. *Ne ferrum quidem superest*] There is a similar use of the word below in c. 26, "arva per annos mutant et superest ager:" 'there is land enough and to spare:' here it means 'even of iron there is no superabundance.' This of course only proves the Germans not to have had any great amount of skill in extracting the ore, for there are large iron mines in certain parts of the country, Bohemia for instance. In the graves of the earliest period known in Germany the weapons found are of bone or stone, and it is only after a considerable period apparently that iron or bronze arms are found. By some the former are supposed to belong to a pre-Teutonic race, but the question is an open one at present.

Rari] This word is used of any thing, the parts of which are separated by large interstices or intervals, and is opposed to 'densus:' 'retia rara' are nets with large meshes. Then the word is used for any thing found only here and there; skirmishers for instance (Caesar, v. 16, "nunquam conferti, sed rari magnisque intervallis praeliarentur"), and so it means 'infrequent,' and lastly—a meaning chiefly poetical—'scarce,' 'peerless.'

frameas] There is some little difficulty about the weapons here mentioned, because Tacitus elsewhere speaks of the Germans carrying immensely long spears (A. ii. 21, and H. v. 18). However, it is tolerably clear that the 'lancea' was a heavier weapon than the 'hasta;' with a broad leaf-like head and a longer thicker shaft. By 'enormes,' or 'praelongae hastae,' I suppose Tacitus meant spears, or 'frameae,' where the metal was large and fastened to a long shaft. This word 'framea' is no doubt a latinized form of the Teutonic 'pfriem.' An awl, or bodkin, is still in German called 'pfrieme.' The 'framea' seems to have been a weapon for stabbing, not throwing, or cutting. The words 'cominus' and 'eminus,' used just afterwards to explain its uses, do not therefore mean that it was at once a missile (for he says below, 'pedites et missilia spargunt'), and a weapon for close fight; but from H. v. 18, "immensis corporibus et praelongis hastis fluitantem labantemque militem eminus fodiebant," the latter word denotes a fight where the ranks were not close, but the combatants had room to bound here and there, in order to dash down upon their enemies. Annexed are the figures of what are supposed to be the heads of these 'frameae,' and a lance copied from Estorff's Heidnischer Alterthümer. And to give a better idea the dimensions are annexed.

angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent: et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est; pedites et missilia spargunt, plura singuli, atque in immensum vibrant: nudi, aut sagulo leves: nulla cultus jactatio: scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus dis-

A B C D



A is 7 inches long, and $\frac{1}{3}$ inch broad.
B is 6 inches long, and $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches broad, and weighs 6 oz.
C is 7 inches long, $2\frac{2}{3}$ inches broad, and weighs over 13 oz.
D is a lance, the blade 4 inches long, and nearly 2 inches wide; the weight is 3 oz.

nudi] If this meant literally that they wore no clothing at all, one can hardly help fancying he would have made more of it, as a proof of their extreme want of civilization; nor are Germans, I believe, ever depicted, in the column of Antoninus for instance, as absolutely naked. Moreover Caesar does not describe them as entirely unclothed, vi. 21, "pellibus utuntur magna parte corporis nuda." Tacitus, I think, must have used the word as Virgil does in his 'nudus ara, sere nudus,' meaning they had nothing but an under-garment, or else only a small cloak; thereby giving us the dress of the richer sort, and the main bulk of the nation. In c. 17, he says 'locupletissimi veste distinguuntur,' meaning they wore an under-garment only.

sagulum] This was the usual name for the blanket or cloak worn by the Gauls and Northern European nations generally. That of the Gauls was made of chequered wool: the Germans usually made theirs of skins. The 'sagum' was open in front and looped over the right shoulder.

scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus] These shields are described A. ii. 14; they were made of twisted osiers, or boards stained with various colours, and were very large.

The Norse shields, probably not unlike them, were three-cornered, long, and covering the whole body; in time of war they were painted red; in time of peace, white. The Saxon shields, on the contrary—the remains of which have been found in

tinguunt: paucis loricae: vix uni alterive cassis aut galea. Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui: sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur. In rectum, aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe ut nemo posterior sit. In universum aestimanti, plus penes peditem roboris: eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni juventute delectos ante aciem locant. Definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt: idque ipsum inter suos vocantur: et quod primo numerus fuit, jam nomen et honor est. Acies per cuneos componitur. Cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, consilii quam formidinis arbitrantur. Corpora suorum etiam

this country—seem to have been round, and, like the others, formed of wood, often that of the linden-tree. These round bucklers were perhaps borrowed from the Slavonian tribes in the East of Germany.

cassis aut galea] 'Cassis,' a casque, was a helmet of which metallic plates formed a constituent part: 'galea' was a headpiece made of leather or skin. Cf. Propertius, iv. 10. 20, "Et galea hirsuta compta lupina juba." How the skins of beasts were sometimes used for this purpose is described by Virgil, vii. 666,

"Ipse pedes, tegmen torquens immane leonis
Terribili impexum saeta, cum dentibus albis
Indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat
Horridus . . . ."

variare gyros] 'Gyrus' is used to denote the ring in which horses run when first broken in; and the words 'variare gyros' seem to mean 'to wheel rapidly to right or left at the word of command,' so as to pivot round the innermost man, the whole line throughout the manoeuvre remaining unbent; in fact, its extremity traced out a circle, round a fixed point.

In universum aestimanti] This use of the dative of the participle, expressing a sort of judgment or opinion in any one, is found elsewhere in Tacitus: H. iv. 17, "fuisse inter Verginii auxilia Belgas, vereque reputantibus Galliam suismet viribus concidisse." H. v .11, "turres mira specie ac procul intuentibus pares." Also, Agricola, c. 11. Livy has the same use, xxxvii. 58, "ceterum vere aestimanti Aetolicum magis bellum quam regium erat."

eoque mixti proeliantur] Caesar gives an exact account of this (i. 48): to every horseman was attached a foot soldier, each bound in case of emergency to help the other; if retreat or advance was necessary, the foot soldiers, holding by the horses' manes, kept up with them, even when at full speed.

idque ipsum] That is, they were called 'the Hundred.' This is supposed to be an indication of the division of the country into portions, like those in England at present, afterwards commonly called Hundreds; probably because each contained a hundred free households. The Suevi are said to have had 100 of these pagi; the Helvetii only four; so that the term seems used loosely, sometimes for a much larger division of the country.

consilii quam formidinis] This

in dubiis proeliis referunt. Scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium: nec aut sacris adesse, aut concilium inire ignominioso fas: multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

VII. Reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt. Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas; et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt. Ceterum neque

ellipse of 'potius' is not uncommon; A. iv. 6], "Agrippa claris majoribus quam vetustis." A. xiii. 6, "pleraque auspiciis et consiliis quam telis et manibus geri." A. iii. 17, "miseratio quam invidia augebatur."

Scutum reliquisse] To leave the shield behind in battle was regarded by Teutonic nations, long after the age of Tacitus, as a singular disgrace. By the Salic law, any freeman, who accused another of having thrown his shield away, was condemned to pay a heavy fine, if unable to prove his words. In this respect these nations resembled the Greeks and Romans. The fact that *ῥίψασπις* was a term of bitter reproach, and the Spartan mother's laconic address to her son on issuing to battle, 'this, or upon this,' are indications of this feeling.

multique superstites] A feeling similar to this was displayed, according to Herodotus' story (vii. 229), by a Spartan who from accidental absence escaped the carnage of the three hundred at Thermopylae. Unable to bear the disgrace of surviving, he hanged himself.

VII. *ex nobilitate*] 'Nobilitas' is used by several writers for the body of nobles; but here, apparently, it has its usual meaning of high birth; and the monarchy is described as at once elective and hereditary. The regard paid to family in this matter is seen from the account recorded by Tacitus of the wish of the Cherusci to procure a scion of their royal house from Rome (A. xi. 16). Probably the real fact was, that the king was chosen from one family, or occasionally from more than one. In a rude and turbulent age, when a good deal depended on the personal character of the ruler, weak princes and minors were not likely to meet with much consideration; and consequently, although the succession was thus limited to one family, the electors would not pay much regard to the claims of any particular member of it, thinking more of thews and sinews than of strict hereditary right. At all events, in our Saxon history, instances of the sort were not uncommon. Alfred, for instance, ascended the throne to the exclusion of the children of his elder brother. In the early periods the king was only the chief magistrate in peace. If he were a warlike one, the nation no doubt accepted him as their leader in war; if not, they chose others.

sumunt] From Tacitus' account (H. iv. 15) the usual ceremony observed on election was, to place the man on a shield, and carry him about on the shoulders of his countrymen. Gregory of Tours mentions the same custom as prevailing amongst the Franks.

infinita potestas] Caesar (v. 27) makes Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, remark that the power of the people over him was quite as great as his over the people; and this was doubtless at least as applicable to the Germans beyond the Rhine, who were not likely, with their fondness for liberty, to submit to much restraint.

animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem, nisi sacerdotibus permissum: non quasi in poenam nec ducis jussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt: effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt. Quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates: et in proximo pignora: unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium: hi cuique sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores. Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt: nec illae numerare, aut exigere plagas pavent. Cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

VIII. Memoriae proditur quasdam acies, inclinatas jam et labantes, a feminis restitutas, constantia precum,

neque animadvertere] Caesar says (vi. 23), that their leaders in war have the power of life and death (vitae necisque habeant potestatem); but this may only mean that they have the highest judicial authority.

'Animadvertere' here means to put to death; as in H. i. 46, and iv. 49. In the Annals, Tacitus' latest work, Walther observes that 'advertere' is the usual form employed. (A. xiii. 28, and ii. 32.)

effigiesque et signa quaedam] What these 'effigies' were is seen from c. 45, "insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant;" and H. iv. 22, "depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est." The 'signa' would be any images that were not representations of living forms, such as the boat of Isis mentioned in c. 9.

turmam aut cuneum] The former word is applied to a squadron of cavalry, the latter to a body of infantry. These wedges are often mentioned in the accounts of German war; cf. H. v. 16, "Civilis haud porrecto agmine sed cuneis adstitit."

propinquitates] This is a word of wider extent than 'familiae.' As Ritter observes, 'gentes' would have been the natural word to use, if it would not have rendered the passage ambiguous, from its double use for 'clan' and 'tribe.'

pignora] What Tacitus means is explained by the immediate mention of wives and children. About the next words, 'unde .... audiri,' there is some difficulty. Some supply 'est,' but on the principle of 'est videre' in c. 5, it ought to be 'audire;' others make it 'ut inde audiatur,' which is a good enough Greek idiom, but bad Latin. I suppose the best way is to make it the historic infinitive, but there seems force in Ritter's objection that this infinitive is restricted to past narratives. For an instance of the fact mentioned compare H. iv. 18, and Cæsar, i. 51.

exigere plagas] The verb 'exigere' here seems to be used in the sense of requiring a strict reckoning or scrutinizing. Perhaps the women examined the wounds to see if there were enough of them, and in the right place, in front, not behind; regarding the number of the wounds as a measure of the prowess of the men.

VIII. *constantia precum*] The German women appear to have been useful occasionally in another way. In Marius' battle with the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae they seem to have been nearly as hard to beat as

et objectu pectorum, et monstrata cominus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent: adeo, ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant; nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt. Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam, diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam. Sed et olim Auriniam et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tanquam facerent deas.

their husbands; after these last were disposed of, the wives killed the fugitive soldiers, and with swords and axes gave the Romans considerable trouble before they were got rid of.

nomine] 'on the score of;' cf. H. i. 29, "non quia meo nomine paveam," and Horace iii. 21. 5, "quocunque lectum nomine Massicum servas."

quibus inter obsides] Augustus Caesar turned this peculiarity to a useful account, and insisted on the German tribes sending female hostages. (Suet. Oct. 21.)

consilia &c.] These prescient women offered advice unasked (consilia), or in reply to questions put to them (responsa). They determined, amongst other things, when was the lucky moment for giving battle. (Plutarch's Life of Caesar.)

Vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam] The use of the word 'vidimus' does not seem at all to prove that Tacitus was ever in Germany (see the Introduction), or that Veleda was brought to Rome. Tacitus only means that the case of Veleda had fallen within his knowledge. A man might very well say that within the last two or three years we had seen Italy politically regenerated, without implying that he had actually been present in the country. The prophetess Veleda (H. iv. 61) belonged to the Bructeri, and dwelt near the Lippe. She encouraged the revolt of the Batavian chief, Civilis, and was eventually taken prisoner by the Romans. As for the name, the Edda contains a poem called Voluspa, or the song of Vola, and the two words probably have the same root. She is mentioned by Statius (Silva i. 4. 89), where the middle syllable is short, although the Greek equivalent has the long vowel.

Auriniam] One is inclined to think Tacitus made a proper name out of a term applied to a whole class, and that 'Aurinia' represents the 'Alrunae,' as the Goths termed their inspired women. There is an oracular maiden, Ganna, mentioned by Dion Cassius, and a Chattan prophetess is said by Suetonius to have uttered predictions to Vitellius (Vitell. 14).

nec tanquam facerent deas]. In this remark Tacitus satirizes the folly of the Roman emperors in deifying the female members of their families. Nero's infant daughter had divine honours paid her (A. xv. 23, "Adulationes censentium honorem divae et pulvinar aedemque et sacerdotem"), and afterwards the same compliment was paid to Poppaea herself. Tacitus elsewhere (H. iv. 61) says, "plerasque feminarum fatidicas, et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas," but this means, I think, that they really are superstitious enough to believe in their divinity. Here, he says, they do not profess to believe them divine when they really do not.

IX. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui, certis diebus, humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant: pars

IX. *Mercurium*] Tacitus might have identified the Teutonic deities with the gods of Rome on either of two principles, similarity of name, or similarity of offices and attributes. The first of these might be subdivided again, perhaps, into similarity of name, compared to the Hellenic gods, or their usual Roman equivalents. For instance, in the famous Irminsul, the old Saxon idol, there is a root which might have recalled Hermes, the Greek Mercury; and this might have suggested to Tacitus the idea of rendering the name of this Teutonic god by his own familiar Mercurius. For more particulars on this point Dr. Latham's note on the passage should be consulted.

In this particular case similarity of attributes appears to have decided the question. Wodan, the Scandinavian Odin, was probably the god represented as equivalent to Mercurius. He was the inventor of magic, and all the arts; and the fourth day of the week was named after him, Wodensdag, our Wednesday. In these respects he coincided with Mercurius, after whom the same day was called Dies Mercurii, the French Mercredi. That the two corresponded is expressly stated by the old writers. Paulus Diaconus (De gestis Langobardorum, i. 9), says, "Wodan sane quem adjecta littera Gwodan dixerunt ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur." Although, of course, evidence so late as this (A.D. 700—800) is not very valuable, still it goes for something. Caesar makes Mercurius the chief god of the Gauls (vi. 17), and observes that the Germans have no deities beyond the powers of nature, the Sun, Moon, and Fire. This might be his own inference from their having no temples. If either he or Tacitus had given us the Keltic or Teutonic equivalents to these Roman names, it would have saved a good deal of trouble.

Herculem] The Scandinavian deity always represented with a club, distinguished for strength, the enemy of the giants, and the destroyer of every thing noxious, was Thor: he may have been therefore the equivalent of Hercules. Others, however, make this equivalence one of names; regarding Hercules as a latinized rendering of a name compounded of Her, and Keule, 'brave with the club.'

Martem] Perhaps this represents the god Tyr, the bravest of the race, who is described in the Edda as alone venturing to put his hand in the wolf's mouth. Moreover, the old name for Tuesday, or Dies Martis, was Tyrsdag, and these facts point to the identity of the two. As to the possibility of the Greek Ares being the connecting link, consult Dr. Latham's note on the passage.

concessis animalibus] That is, 'with animals lawfully used,' as opposed to 'humanis hostiis,' mentioned before. These human sacrifices were by no means entirely unknown at Rome. They were formally abolished about a century before the birth of Christ; but, according to Pliny's statement, the practice was existing in his own day. In fact, instances were common throughout the world, from the belief that human life, as the most valuable of all things, must be acceptable to the gods.

Amongst the Germans the custom seems to have occasionally taken a wholesale form. Tacitus mentions (A. xiii. 57) that in a war between the Hermunduri and Chatti,

Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum, docet advectam religionem. Ceterum, nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare, ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident.

X. Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam, frugiferae arbori decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam

the victors devoted the entire army of the vanquished in sacrifice to the gods.

Isidi] Grimm, in his Deutsche Mythologie, p. 188, suggests that Isis may represent a goddess Zisa, or Cisa, whose memory had survived so late as the thirteenth century, about Augsburg. If so, the name decided the identity. I am more inclined to agree with Ritter, that the goddess was the Mother Hertha, alluded to in c. 40. The 'liburna' here, and the 'vehiculum' there, were probably the same, the ship being put on wheels, and rolled along. There is mention, about A.D. 1130, of a procession formed by the people of the Lower Rhine, in which a ship was put on wheels, and rolled from Tongres to Louvain. It seems also, that early in March, on the opening of navigation, a boat was offered to Isis at Rome; and Pelagia was one of her Greek surnames. This coincidence of the boat very likely, I think, determined the identity of the two goddesses in Tacitus's view.

nec cohibere parietibus &c.] Tacitus elsewhere mentions temples. For instance, in A. i. 51, he speaks of "celeberrimum illis gentibus templum quod Tanfanae vocabant," amongst the Marsi; but he probably only means by it a sacred enclosure, or grove. With the whole of this account of the religion of the Germans, compare H. v. 5, where, in his account of the Jews, he says, "Judaei mente sola, unumque numen intelligunt: profanos qui deum imagines mortalibus materiis in species hominum effingant. Igitur nulla simulacra . . . . templis sinunt."

lucos ac nemora] 'Lucus' is always used for a grove, consecrated to the gods, and so differs from 'nemus.' For a description of one of these groves, see Lucan iii. 415, &c.

secretum illud &c.] 'Secretum' does not mean the retirement of the grove, but the abstract idea they formed in their imagination of the deity. According to the different aspects under which this idea presented itself, the names of the gods varied.

X. *ut qui maxime*] The full sentence would be, 'observant ut ii qui maxime observant.' A similarly elliptical expression is 'cum maxime.' Cf. A. iv. 27, "coeptantem cum maxime conjurationem disjecit;" i.e. "coeptantem, cum maxime coeptaret."

virgam, frugiferae &c.] Something like this is mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 67) as practised amongst the Scythians. The Alani too are said to have collected bundles of twigs, and letting them fall with incantations, from the position they took to have divined the future.

notis quibusdam] According to some these were Runic characters;

discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt: mox, si publice consuletur, sacerdos civitatis; sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliae, precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatos secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio: sin permissum, auspiciorum adhuc fides exigitur. Et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare. Proprium gentis, equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri: publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti, quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos, ac rex, vel princeps civitatis,

but the knowledge of these symbols was probably confined to the priests,—even if they existed at all so early, which is extremely doubtful,—and this species of divination seems to have been performed by the head of the family as often as not, who would know nothing whatever of these Runes. The words only mean that some mark or other was put on the twigs by the inquirer, to denote approval, or the reverse.

temere ac fortuito] One does not see any great difference between these words; but the former means 'at random,' 'without any care;' and the latter, that the twigs fall 'just as it happens.' There might be a given way to throw them, and yet it might be done 'temere;' but one way was as good as another, and this made it done 'fortuito.'

ter singulos tollit] This would naturally, I think, mean, 'he takes them up one by one thrice;' but it seems here to mean rather, 'he takes up single twigs three times in succession.' It is not easy to see how there could be any divination at all the other way, unless indeed some account were taken of the order in which the marks, favourable or unfavourable, were taken up. As Orellius observes, there were four possible combinations, all favourable, all unfavourable, two good, and one bad, or two bad, and one good.

Saxo Grammaticus mentions a species of divination in use amongst the Rugiani: "Tribus ligni particulis, parte altera albis, altera nigris, in gremium sortium loco conjectis, candidis prospera, furvis adversa signabant."

auspiciorum fides] This means the assurance given by the auspices. In c. 39, however, 'fides antiquitatis' has a very different meaning, viz. 'the belief in its antiquity.'

equorum quoque praesagia] A notable instance of this is mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 84), where the neighing of a horse was to decide which of the conspirators against Smerdis was to occupy the throne. In the same author (i. 189) there are sacred horses mentioned in an account of Cyrus's expedition. If the Teutonic nations really came from Media, the custom might have been a remnant of their old usages. One way divination was practised by means of horses, is mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus (bk. xiv.). Spears were put down in a certain order, and if the horse stepped over them with the right leg first, it was lucky; if with the left, the reverse.

rex, vel princeps] The 'princeps' here mentioned was the head most likely of the 'pagus,' or hundred;

comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes. Se enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. Est et alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis committunt: victoria hujus vel illius pro praejudicio accipitur.

XI. De minoribus rebus principes consultant; de majoribus omnes: ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur. Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec

if so, it was perhaps a rendering of the German 'ealdorman.'

conscios] Tibullus (i. 9. 3), in the same way, speaks of the victim's entrails as 'conscia fibra deorum.'

committunt] This word is used for matching two combatants together. So Juvenal (i. 162), "Securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem Committas." Something not unlike this practice existed amongst the Scotch clans formerly. Before the battle of Tippermuir, Montrose's Highlanders are said to have murdered a herdsman, in order to secure the advantage of drawing the first blood. Compare also a similar incident in Scott's 'Lady of the Lake.'

XI. *principes*] One edition has a reading 'princeps consultat;' but the men intended here are, no doubt, as noticed before, the presidents of the 'pagi,' whose duties were chiefly judicial. All important questions, of peace and war, for instance, of capital punishment, election of 'principes,' &c., came before the 'concilium,' the ge-môt, or folc-môt, where every member of the tribe (plebs), other than the 'servi' or 'liberti,' had a voice in the deliberations.

pertractentur] One manuscript has 'praetractentur,' a word occurring no where else. From the words 'ut ea quoque,' one would rather, I think, expect a verb suited to all matters of deliberation, whether amongst the 'principes' only, or the general assembly, after their discussion. In this case 'pertractentur' would be the true reading.

fortuitum et subitum] The first word implies the occurrence of any event unexpectedly happening; 'subitum,' that the event was an urgent one, requiring instant discussion.

hoc auspicatissimum initium] With this remark compare Caesar's statement (i. 50) about the prediction of the German women, that their countrymen would have no chance of success in battle, unless they waited for the new moon. The Greeks were equally superstitious in this respect. On the first invasion of Greece by the Persians, the Spartans, when urgent appeals for help were sent by the Athenians, could not march at once, because it was only the ninth day

dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. Sic constituunt, sic condicunt: nox ducere diem videtur. Illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut jussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coeuntium absumitur. Ut turbae placuit, considunt armati. Silentium per sacerdotes quibus tum et coercendi jus est, imperatur. Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur: sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est, armis laudare.

XII. Licet apud concilium accusare quoque, et discrimen capitis intendere. Distinctio poenarum ex delicto: proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt: ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames, coeno ac palude, injecta insuper crate, mergunt. Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit,

of the moon, and they could not start until the full moon.

Nec dierum] Caesar (vi. 18) mentions the prevalence of the same custom amongst the Gauls; and gives their reason—a curious one—for it, viz. that they were the progeny of the infernal Dis: "Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum sic observant ut noctem dies subsequatur." Our expressions, 'se'nnight,' 'fortnight,' seem remnants of this custom.

condicunt] That is, instead of fixing such and such a day, they fix such and such a night. 'Condictio' was originally a term used for an 'actio in personam,' because the plaintiff gave the defendant notice to appear on a given day, to choose a judge. So 'condicere coenam alicui,' is to give a person notice that you will sup with him (Cic. Epist. ad Fam. i. 9). 'Indico' is used in the same way, but is said to be an authoritative appointment; whereas 'condicere' presupposes the person's voluntary consent to the arrangement.

frameas concutiunt] Cf. H. v. 17; and for a similar custom amongst the Gauls, compare Caesar, vii. 21.

XII. *intendere*] The metaphor seems to be that of stretching a bow to aim at any one; 'intendere arcum, sagittas,' &c., being common phrases.

supplicii] The original idea of this word was that of a kneeling posture, assumed for the purpose of entreaty, derived from 'sub' and 'plico.' Hence 'supplicare' is equivalent to 'flexibus genibus orare.' It is used subsequently for any occasion where this attitude would be required, as a thanksgiving for victory (Sall. Jug. 55), although 'supplicatio' is the usual form in this sense. It is also said by Festus to designate the 'caduceus' or staff, wreathed round with fillets, borne by messengers sent to negotiate peace. (Sall. Jug. 46.) Then, either because the punishment of criminals was originally an act of solemn worship and dedication to

tanquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur; flagitia abscondi. Sed et levioribus delictis, pro modo, poena: equorum pecorumque numero convicti mulctantur: pars mulctae regi vel civitati; pars ipsi qui vindicatur vel propinquis ejus exsolvitur. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui jura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.

XIII. Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei, nisi armati agunt. Sed arma sumere non ante cui-

the infernal gods, or from the posture of the malefactor while undergoing his sentence, it came to bear its usual meaning of punishment.

scelera—flagitia] The former is used for any crime, the latter for disgraceful vices; generally in the way of profligacy or dissoluteness. Cf. Cicero de Senect. 12, "Stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium, nullis aliis illecebris excitari nisi voluptatis." Here cowardice is, in the eyes of a warlike nation, regarded as equivalent to unnatural crimes ('ignavos . . . . et corpore infames'). This secret punishment was not unknown to the Romans. With them parricides were put into a sack, and thrown into the sea. (Cf. Juv. viii. 214.) Amongst the Burgundians faithless wives were smothered in the mud.

pars mulctae] The manuscripts always vary in this word, some omitting, some retaining the letter *c*. According to Festus, it is an Oscan word, and seems to have been equivalent to 'numerare,' as in Plaut. Stich. iii. 1. 9. It is also said to have meant, to outbid others at auctions by raising the price. If so, 'multa' would be the better form; and the word denote punishment in the way of money or goods counted down. This word differs from 'poena;' the last being a general term for any punishment, bodily or otherwise; while 'mulcta' properly implies a fine of money or cattle, varied at the discretion of the imposer, whereas 'poena' was defined by law. The part of this fine paid to the king, as the guardian of peace, was called the 'fredum,' or peace-offering; the penal sum paid to the injured person was termed 'wehrgild.'

consilium] This word seems used with a reference to the Roman usage in judicial inquiries. In the 'quaestiones perpetuae' one of the praetors presided; but the actual verdict was given by a body of 'judices,' who were termed his 'consilium.' Cf. Cic. ad Att. i. 16, "ut quaeque ad consilium primis postulationibus referebantur."

XIII. *nisi armati agunt*] A remnant of this custom is still found in our island, north of the Trent, in the division of the country into Wapentakes, corresponding to the Hundreds existing elsewhere. The derivation of this term comes from the German 'waepen' and 'tak,' 'to touch weapons,' either because the assembly touched and rattled their arms in token of assent, or because the vassals touched their spears in sign of homage. The Romans, on the contrary, never carried arms except in time of war, or on a journey; in fact, it was expressly forbidden, amongst other acts of violence, by the lex Plotia. In Sall. Catil. 27, that Catiline

quam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso concilio, vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinquus scuto frameaque juvenem ornant: haec apud illos toga, hic primus juventae honos: ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox reipublicae. Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita, principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant. Ceteri robustioribus ac jampridem probatis aggregantur: nec rubor inter comites aspici. Gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, judicio ejus quem sectantur: magnaque et comitum aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus; et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea

was seen in the city with a sword, is given as a symptom of the approaching outbreak.

moris] This is a favourite expression of Tacitus. Cf. Agric. 39 and 42; H. i. 15; A. i. 56. It is a form chiefly adopted by the writers of the silver age, instead of the other turns 'mos est,' 'in more est,' &c., used by the Augustan writers.

suffecturum] This ellipse of the pronoun 'se' before the future infinitive is common in Tacitus; cf. A. i. 7; i. 8; i. 35. Also before the present infinitive it is occasionally omitted; but, as far as I know, this ellipse is not usual with other writers of a good stamp.

haec apud illos toga] This refers to the assumption of the 'toga virilis' by the Roman youths on arriving at the age of fourteen or thereabouts. On this occasion, during the Liberalia in March, the boy's friends accompanied him to the Forum with great solemnities and rejoicings. This act was known as 'tirocinium fori,' or some similar expression. Cf. Suet. August. 26, "quemque tirocinio suo deduceret in forum." This custom of arming the youth publicly was continued in the days of chivalry, when the knight at the outset of his career had his armour braced on, and the sword and spear placed in his hands, and rode about brandishing them.

Insignis nobilitas &c.] There is some difficulty about this passage. Orellius makes it to imply, that distinguished birth induces a chief to regard the possessor of it with favour, and to allow him to be enrolled in his train; so that 'dignationem principis' means the favourable consideration of his chief (cf. Suet. Calig. 24, for this use of the word). But there seem to me serious objections to this, and I think the first impression on reading the passage is so strongly in favour of construing it 'secure him the rank of chief,' that it is impossible not to adopt it. The young man, holding a sort of brevet-chief rank, is allowed by virtue of it at once to join some chief's retinue; a privilege usually only given to those who had in some way or other earned a right to it, after proof of their bravery.

nec rubor] So Ovid, Ars Am. iii. 167, "Nec rubor est emisse palam." Tacitus also uses the form 'rubori est,' A. xi. 17; xiv. 55.

gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat: expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

XIV. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci; turpe comitatui virtutem principis non adaequare. Jam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse. Illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae ejus adsignare, praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes pro victoria pugnant: comites pro principe. Si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt; quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare: exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate

expetuntur legationibus] This means that when embassies are sent to the state to which these illustrious chiefs belong, the ambassadors apply to them, and make them presents, in the hope of obtaining their co-operation.

bella profligant] Cf. Liv. xxi. 40, "Deos ipsos committere ac profligare bellum, nos commissum ac profligatum conficere." 'Profligare' seems to mean, to deal a blow that sets any thing tottering, or first gives it an effective check; and 'profligare bellum' is to break the back of a war, as we say; so that the subsequent completion of it is an easy matter.

XIV. *infame... ac probrosum*] The former implies that the act tarnished the character of any one who was guilty of it; the latter that it exposed him to the reproaches of others. This was only true with reference to the desertion of the 'princeps' by his 'comites;' as for the mass of the fighting men, they were too independent to pay much regard to their leaders. Compare A. ii. 14, "sine pudore flagitii, sine cura ducum abire, fugere." Caesar (iii. 22) mentions a nearly similar point of honour amongst the Gauls, whereby certain of them refused to survive the friends with whom they were connected by ties of companionship.

defendere, tueri] The former only implies, to ward off actual danger in battle; the latter, generally to protect his interests.

sacramentum] This was strictly the oath voluntarily taken by the early Roman soldiers, not to desert, quit the ranks, &c. The involuntary oath which they were compelled, after B.C. 216, to take by the 'tribuni militum' was properly called 'jusjurandum.' Livy (xxii. 38) distinguishes the two: "jurejurando ab tribunis militum adacti . . . . nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat."

petunt ultro] This was the same plan as that pursued in after times by the Free Companies, and Condottieri, of the Middle Ages, who took service as soldiers of fortune under any prince who offered to pay for their services.

tueare] For this use of the second person singular compare H. i. 1, "sed ambitionem scriptoris facile averseris;" A. ii. 30; iii. 54; vi. 8; and observe that this termination in 're,' instead of 'ris,' is the usual one.

illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam: nam epulae, et quanquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri: pigrum quin immo et iners videtur sudore adquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

XV. Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia; ipsi hebent mira diversitate naturae, cum iidem homines sic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem. Mos est civitatibus, ultro ac viritim conferre principibus, vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. Gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur: electi equi, magna arma, phalerae, torquesque. Jam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

annum] 'Annus' is put here for the produce of the year, the harvest; cf. Agric. 31, 'ager et annus;' and Lucan iii. 452; 'Agricolae raptis annum flevere juvencis.'

vocare] For this use compare H. iv. 80, "neque ipse deerat adrogantia vocare offensas." The full phrase occurs A. vi. 34, "interim Orodem Pharasmanes vocare ad pugnam."

XV. *non multum venatibus*] This assertion at first sight appears to contradict Caesar (vi. 21), who says that a German's life was entirely spent in hunting and war. All that Tacitus means, I suppose, is, that the chase was their only employment in time of peace, and took up only a small part of their time compared to the large amount of time they idled away. If there were really any irreconcileable discrepancy between the two authors, one would, in questions of custom, at all events, give the preference to Tacitus, much having occurred since Caesar's time to make the Germans better known.

cura feminis] This is the way amongst all savage tribes. War and the chase are the only occupations of the men; every thing else is thought beneath their dignity; and the hard work falls to the lot of the women, as one may see from the accounts of travellers amongst the North American Indians, for instance.

armentorum] This case may be one of two things; either a partitive genitive, just as the Greeks use *μεταδιδόναι τινός*; another instance of which is found in A. xv. 53, 'ut quisque audentiae habuisset;' or it may depend on 'quod,' an analogous use to phrases such as 'quicquid civium,' and the like.

phalerae, torquesque] Of these, the first (derived from *φάλος*) were bosses or metal plates, used as ornaments for helmets, and then attached to the harness of horses, as pendants

XVI. Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari, satis notum est: ne pati quidem inter se junctas sedes. Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. Vicos locant, non in nostrum morem, connexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium, sive inscitia aedificandi. Ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi, et citra speciem aut delectationem. Quaedam loca diligentius illinunt terra, ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac lineamenta colorum imitetur. Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus: quia rigorem frigorum ejusmodi locis molliunt: et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur: abdita autem et defossa, aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

to produce a jingling noise when the animal was at speed. Naturally, 'phalerae' were given to horsemen as prizes for superior bravery.

'Torques' were twisted circlets of gold, worn round the neck, originally by the Persians and other nations of Northern and Western Europe. They were in common use amongst the Gauls, and Quinctilian mentions a huge one given by that people to Augustus. They were worn by the Keltic Britons, and have often been found in England, sometimes made of several platted cords, and weighing as much as 1, 2, or even 3 lbs.

Jam et pecuniam] Tacitus alludes to this fact in H. iv. 76, "Germanos cuncta ex libidine agere, pecuniamque ac dona quis solis corrumpantur, majora apud Romanos."

XVI. *Nullas.... urbes*] Ptolemy, writing some sixty years later than Tacitus, mentions as many as seventy cities. By these he no doubt meant only clusters of huts or wigwams gathered round some wood or spring, and these Tacitus himself speaks of, A. i. 56, "Caesar, incenso Mattio, id genti caput, aperta populatus, vertit ad Rhenum." But by 'urbs' the Romans intended a town with fortifications, temples, &c., and of these there were of course none amongst the Germans. There is no hint in the account of their wars with the Romans of their retiring for shelter behind the walls of any towns; it was rather to woods, morasses, &c., they betook themselves.

citra speciem] The preposition 'citra,' connected probably with 'hic,' the guttural 'ci' being softened into 'hi,' means 'on this side of.' Therefore 'citra speciem' is 'stopping short of beauty;' not going far enough in their work to cross the line dividing plainness from beauty; not taking pains to make it handsome.

aut eo ipso fallunt] 'Fallo' is used here in the sense of escaping notice; as in Horacé, Carm. iii. 19, "Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem Fallere testa;" and Epist. i. 17. 10. The passage means that these subterranean caves are either altogether unknown to the enemy, or supposing the enemy to have a general idea of their locality, yet they baffle discovery, because they can only be

XVII. Tegumen omnibus sagum, fibula, aut, si desit, spina consertum. Cetera intecti, totos dies juxta focum atque ignem agunt. Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi; sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. Gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae negligenter, ulteriores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras, et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque belluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. Nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur, eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

XVIII. Quanquam severa illic matrimonia: nec ullum

found by rigorous search, for which the enemy lacks time and inclination.

XVII. *spina consertum*] For some reason or other Lipsius objects to this, and proposes to read 'pinna' instead of 'spina,' understanding by it, I suppose, a 'fishbone,' or 'skewer of wood;' but one would think a thorn as likely a priori to be used for fastening a dress as a fishbone. Virgil, at all events, uses a thorn for the same purpose, Aen. iii. 594, 'consertum tegumen spinis;' and Ovid, Met. xiv. 166, 'et spinis conserto tegmine nullis.'

veste] Tacitus seems to mean by this 'an inner garment,' distinguished from the outer cloak, which formed the sole dress of the great mass of the people, here designated by the word 'sagum' used just before. The 'vestis' was the dress of the richer sort, who do not seem to have worn the 'sagum' at all, judging from c. 6, where the words 'nudi aut sagulo leves' are used apparently to designate the two classes.

proximi ripae] Those of the Germans who dwell near the Rhine, and from their proximity to Gallia and the Roman traders are able to procure a more civilized dress, take less pride in their skin coverings, and are more careless in the arrangement of them, not thinking them good enough to take much trouble about. The tribes less acquainted with the Roman and Gallic wares had nothing better, and were anxious, therefore, to make the most they could of their native materials. This seems clear enough, but some of the critics have been anxious to make the passage imply just the opposite, by transposing the two adverbs. By the 'ripa' here mentioned Tacitus intends the bank of the Rhine.

maculis pellibusque] This seems to mean, that they decorate the hides of wild beasts with spots or different coloured patches made out of the skins of sea monsters. If so, 'maculis pellibusque belluarum' is put for 'maculis pellium belluinarum' by Hendiadys, like Virgil's 'pateris libamus et auro.'

purpura] This was not the genuine 'purpura,' obtained from the 'murex,' but a dye got from some plant. Pliny (xvi. 18) mentions the 'vaccinium' (perhaps the whortleberry) as used by the Gauls for dyeing garments.

XVIII. *Quanquam*] This refers to the words at the end of the last

morum partem magis laudaveris: nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac munera probant: munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. In haec munera uxor accipitur, atque invicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro affert. Hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana

chapter, and is added to remove any wrong inference that might be drawn from them. The dress of the women is scanty, but it is a matter of custom only, and no proof or cause of dissoluteness of morals, as it might be with a more refined people. A similar case was that of the Spartans. They were satirized by others for the scanty clothing of their women, and yet these possessed a character for propriety of conduct above the average of their countrywomen.

ambiuntur] What this means is clear from A. ii. 43, "donec ultro ambiretur delatum ab Augusto consulatum accipere." Caesar (i. 53) mentions that Ariovistus, king of the Suevi, had two wives. The Scandinavian nations retained the same custom, even long after they were Christianized, and few habits proved harder for the clergy to weed out from the people than this, the practice lingering on as late as the tenth century.

Dotem] Tacitus is contrasting here the German custom with that of his own countrymen at Rome; but in truth the difference seems one not so much between different nations as between the same nation in different stages of civilization. When Medea (l. 232) remarks that the destined bride had to buy her spouse with a vast sum of money, the Scholiast observes that Euripides was transferring to heroic times the usage of his own day. In most nations, in their early periods, the bridegroom appears to have paid for his wife. In patriarchal days, Shechem offered to Dinah's father and brethren as much dowry as they required, on condition of their giving him the damsel to wife (Gen. xxxiv. 12). Homer attests the existence of the custom in early Greece, speaking of a hundred beeves, and a thousand sheep and goats, as the price for a wife. The laws of the early Saxons recognize the continuance of the same practice. As civilization however advances, and the 'onera matrimonii' become more sensibly felt, this custom disappears, and is replaced by the opposite; a change which, in the eyes of the Greek and Roman satirists, at least wrought no great amount of good, to judge from their complaints of the pride and waywardness of largely-dowered dames. The Germans, then, in giving dowries for their wives, only resembled other half-civilized races; but they were no doubt to a great extent peculiar in the regard they paid them afterwards; although it does not seem to have prevented them from devolving a good deal of hard work upon them, like most other barbarous nations.

In haec munera] The preposition here seems to me to have pretty nearly its usual signification of 'into:' the future husband parts with the articles given, and fills up the gap made in his possessions by taking a wife.

arcana sacra] Probably Tacitus

sacra, hos conjugales deos arbitrantur. Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes, extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur, venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque: hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, sic pereundum: accipere se, quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant, rursusque ad nepotes referant.

XIX. Ergo septa pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlecebris, nullis conviviorum inritationibus corruptae. Literarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. Paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum

has in view here the marriage by 'confarreatio,' in which 'panis farreus' was used, and certain religious ceremonies observed. As this was the most solemn method of contracting marriages in use amongst the Romans, Tacitus perhaps refers to it.

XIX. *septa pudicitia*] There is a different reading in the MSS. here, some having 'septae pudicitia,' with a slightly varied meaning. The reading in the text means, that the German women lived with their chastity hedged round from all that could assail it externally. 'Septae pudicitia' implies that they were protected from harm by their own purity; like Godiva, 'clothed on with chastity.'

nullis spectaculorum inlecebris] The corrupting effect on the morality of the Roman ladies produced by the games and theatres, is often mentioned by the Roman writers, Juvenal, for instance, xi. 162, &c. Seneca, too, describes himself as returning home from the show, a worse man than he went ("Nihil est tam damnosum bonis moribus quam in aliquo spectaculo desidere; avarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior").

Literarum secreta] No doubt some of the Germans could write. Maroboduus, for instance, is mentioned (A. ii. 63) as having sent a letter to Tiberius; but such cases were probably the exceptions. Those tribes who were in contact with Gaul, may have known something of the Keltic alphabet, and used it; but the mass of the people across the Rhine were most likely entirely unacquainted with written characters, unless an improbable antiquity be given to 'runes.' I believe these words of Tacitus to mean, 'of the secret communication possible where written characters are known, they have no idea;' implying, of course, that lovers did not correspond by means of notes: but I do not think it is absolutely stated in this sentence. In other words, 'literarum' I believe to mean 'written characters,' not '(love) letters.' If the Germans had known characters, it would not have taken them long, one may be sure, to turn them to this particular use. For the extent of the practice alluded to at Rome, compare Juv. vi. 231, and xiv. 29. There was one species of tablets especially used for this purpose; cf. Martial (xiv. 8),—

"Nondum legerit hos licet puella,
Novit quid cupiant Vitelliani."

in tam numerosa gente] It does

poena praesens et maritis permissa. Accisis crinibus, nudatam, coram propinquis, expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit: publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. Nemo enim illic vitia ridet: nec corrumpere et corrumpi seculum vocatur. Melius quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt, et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. Sic unum accipiunt

not seem possible to form any tolerably accurate idea of the numbers of the German people. Caesar mentions that the Suevi were divided into 100 cantons, and sent out yearly from each a force of 1000 fighting men. Ariovistus himself was at the head of a mixed force of 120,000 warriors. The Usipetes and Tencteri, two tribes dispossessed by the Suevi, are numbered by Caesar (iv. 15) at 430,000, and Tacitus (Germ. 33) speaks of the slaughter of 60,000 men in a war between two tribes. These numbers convey the idea that in spite of the great portions of land covered with woods and mountains, the population was really considerable. Comparing the sizes of Gaul and Germania, and Caesar's statement of the total number of men conquered by himself in the subjugation of the former country, one may perhaps hazard a rough guess that six or seven millions represented the population of Germany.

Accisis crinibus] The compound 'accidere' means 'to cut deep into,' and in this case therefore 'to cut short.' Livy (viii. 29) uses it metaphorically in the sense of cutting a people's resources all to shreds.

seculum vocatur] 'nor is mutual corruption called the spirit of the age.' For a similar use compare Martial ix. 28:

"Curios, Camillos, Quintios, Numas, Ancos,
Loqueris, sonasque grandibus minax verbis,
Et cum theatris seculoque rixaris."

That is, 'you inveigh against the theatres, and the manners of the times.'

Melius quidem adhuc] This ellipse of 'agere,' or 'facere,' is not uncommon. Cf. A. i. 43, "melius et amantius ille qui gladium offerebat." Cf. also Agric. 19.

'Adhuc' is used in the sense of 'still further,' 'still more,' by the later writers. Cf. Plin. xxxiii. 2, "sunt adhuc reliquae non omittendae in auro differentiae." See also Agric. 33. It is naturally in this meaning joined to comparatives; as in c. 29, "nisi quod adhuc acrius animantur." So Suetonius (Nero 10), "ut certiorem adhuc ostenderet."

transigitur] 'they have done, once for all, with the hopes,' &c. This use of the word comes naturally from its original sense of piercing a dart or any weapon through any obstacle, and so reaching the exterior, or end of it. Cf. Agric. 34, 'transigite cum expeditionibus.' This use of the word is a late one.

This custom of the Germans formed a contrast to the Roman practice. Martial (vi. 7) complains that in spite of the Julian law, Telesina had married ten husbands in thirty days. With them the facilities for divorce seem to have nearly rivalled those amongst the Jews; with whom a woman might be divorced for spoiling her husband's soup.

maritum, quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium, ament. Numerum liberorum finire aut quenquam ex agnatis necare, flagitium habetur: plusque ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonae leges.

XX. In omni domo nudi ac sordidi, in hos artus, in haec corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. Sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis ac nutricibus delegantur. Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas. Inter eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet ingenuos, virtus agnoscat. Sera juvenum Venus; eoque inexhausta pubertas: nec virgines festinantur: eadem juventa, similis proceritas: pares validaeque mis-

liberorum finire] What Tacitus means by this is seen from Juv. vi. 594, &c. This offence does not seem to have been originally taken notice of by the Roman law. Subsequently, however, it was punishable (Cic. pro Cluent. c. 11), and under the emperors visited with exile, or condemnation to the mines.

ex agnatis necare] The word 'agnati' is not used here in its legal meaning of all the relations through male descent, who would be in the 'patria potestas,' but in the sense of 'those who are born after.' Pliny has the same use, xi. 94, "congeniti maturius defluunt; agnati celerius crescunt." The Roman father was allowed full discretion as to bringing up the children born to him. The infant was placed on the ground at its birth, and the father showed his intention of rearing it or not by removing it from the ground, or leaving it there. Cf. Terence, Heaut. iv. 1. 13. Amongst the Scandinavian nations this custom also existed. In Iceland, so late as the tenth century, all children born deformed, or crippled, seem to have been consigned to destruction by exposure; the father, as amongst the Romans, deciding by taking up the child from the ground, whether it should be reared or not.

XX. *nec ancillis*] Tacitus, of course, is here reproving the customs of his own day at Rome. The author of the Dialogue de Oratoribus draws a contrast between the old Romans and their descendants in this respect: "Jam primum suus cuique filius . . . . non in cella emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur. At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adjungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus" (c. 28, 29).

virtus agnoscat] 'until virtue recognizes them for her own.' For the subjunctive mood after 'donec,' see the note on c. 1.

pares] This does not mean that only matches were allowed between those who were equal in station, but that the married pair were equally strong and robust.

validaeque] There is a reading 'validi' in some of the editions. In this case the masculine includes the bride and bridegroom, just as 'fratres' may be used for a brother and sister, and 'reges' for a king and queen.

centur: ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum, qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem arctioremque hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur, et in accipiendis obsidibus magis exigunt; tanquam ii et animum firmius et domum latius teneant. Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi: et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi. Quanto plus propinquorum, quo major adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus: nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

XXI. Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias, necesse est: nec implacabiles

apud avunculum] This is an uncle by the mother's side, as distinguished from 'patruus,' just as 'matertera' and 'amita' are aunts in a corresponding manner. Amongst the Romans the 'patruus' was the more important person of the two, because he was 'agnatus,' as well as 'cognatus,' while the other was only the latter; and by a law of the XII Tables, in default of a will, the 'tutela' was given to 'agnati' only. The respect thus paid to sisters' sons may have arisen from the estimation in which women were held amongst the Germans.

et domum latius teneant] Because to take a man's sons as hostages, would bind only their father; whereas to take his nephews, would give a hold not only on the man himself, but the parents of the hostages as well.

proximus gradus] In this matter the German custom differed from the Roman law. There, according to Ulpian (Frag. tit. 26. 51), a man's heirs were first his own children, grandchildren, &c., or, failing them, his brothers and sisters by the same father ('consanguinei'); next, the nearest of the remaining 'agnati.' Consequently the 'avunculus' being 'adfinis' only, and not 'agnatus,' could not inherit, except of course by the express direction of a testator.

adfinium] The 'adfines' were properly the 'cognati' of husband and wife, and therefore the connexion implied in the word was only possible through marriage.

orbitatis pretia] At Rome the advantages of childlessness were great; not indeed legally: for the 'orbus' was subject by the 'lex Julia et Papia Poppaea' to certain legal penalties. From the actual state of society, however, he was regarded as a fortunate man. Cf. H. i. 73, "potens pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus juxta valent:" also Dialogue de Orat. c. 6, "in civitate nostra plus gratiae orbitas confert quam eripit." They were paid great court to by their friends, in the hope of obtaining a legacy, and were inundated with presents, large fish, &c. (Juv. v. 98; iii. 221, &c.)

XXI. *Suscipere tam inimicitias*] Such was also the custom of the Scottish clans, where feuds raged for centuries, because the son felt bound to take up his father's quarrels. Thus the Mackintosh and Macdonald clans were at feud in consequence of some dispute originating so far back as the days when Danish pirates wasted the coasts of Scotland. Similarly the Kerrs and the Scotts were hereditary foes.

durant. Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus: utiliter in publicum; quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem. Convictibus et hospitiis non alia gens effusius indulget. Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur: pro fortuna quisque apparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit. Abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris: et poscendi invicem eadem facilitas. Gaudent muneribus: sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. Victus inter hospites comis.

Luitur enim . . . homicidium] This plan of atoning for homicide is found in many uncivilized peoples. It existed amongst the Greeks (Iliad ix. 632, καὶ μέν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φονῆος ποινὴν ἢ οὗ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος), Latins, Franks, Saxons, Welsh, and Irish; and there are various words, denoting in different languages the same thing,—ποινή, 'mulcta,' 'weregild,' 'manbote,' 'sarhaad,' 'eric,' &c. The amount of this payment was regulated by the station of the person killed; so much for a peasant, more for a noble, and so on. It is curious that, amongst the Saxons, although homicide was thus atoned for by a fixed payment, certain offences, in our eyes, of less atrocity, such as stealing a horse, were made capital. I suppose amongst a warlike and fierce people the slaughter of an adversary, carrying with it the idea of manliness and prowess, was not regarded harshly.

recipitque satisfactionem] It is not very certain what this expression means. Some make it to imply that the entire house undertook to be responsible for the payment of the fine imposed on any single member of it. This sense of 'recipio' is no doubt common enough; and I believe there really did subsequently exist amongst some of the Teutonic people a law to this effect. Still I rather think it means, that the whole house is bound to rest contented with the payment thus made, and has no right afterwards to carry on the feud longer.

Convictibus et hospitiis] Of these words the former refers to hospitality shown to friends, the latter to strangers.

nefas habetur] A law of the Burgundians punished by a fine any one who refused shelter to a chance visitor. This unbounded hospitality is one of the virtues of uncivilized races.

monstrator hospitii] The man who lately supplied the feast points out a new entertainer, and accompanies his late guest there.

imputant] This wōrd properly means, to enter into one's accounts, to put down any thing to a person's credit, and score it off against him. It is not employed by the Augustan writers in this sense, and only came into use in the silver age, amongst the writers of which it is very common. Its sense will be best understood from the following passages: 'Noli imputare vanum beneficium mihi' (Phaedrus, i. 22), i. e. 'do

XXII. Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. Lauti cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. Tum ad negotia, nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. Diem noctemque continuare potando, nulli probrum.

not score off against my account a sham kindness.' "Fructus amicitiae magnae cibus; imputat hunc rex, Et quamvis rarum tamen imputat" (Juv. v. 14): he makes a merit of the rare dinner he asks the client to. "Imputare perfidiam non possunt qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a Galba descivissent" (H. iii. 86); they could hardly make a merit of their betrayal of Vitellius to Vespasian, after previously revolting from Galba.

Victus inter hospites] Many of the editors propose to eject these words as corrupt, or interpolated. I do not see any necessity for this, as they seem to contrast the behaviour of the Germans towards strangers who are sharing their hospitality with their conduct when friends only are present. In the former case quietness and courtesy prevail; in the latter quarrelling is sure to arise.

XXII. *plerumque*] There is an old adjective 'plerus' in Latin (Cic. de Leg. iii. 3), of which this is the neuter; and the 'que' is apparently enclitic, found also in 'quandoque,' 'denique,' and other words. This enclitic was probably once an indefinite pronoun, connected in origin and meaning with the Greek τι (compare the form ὅκκα for ὅτι, &c.). In a primitive state of the language these indefinite pronouns were placed, it seems, one in each clause. In course of time one of these was omitted, and the remaining particle became a mere copulative. Such words as 'plerumque,' ὅστι, &c., appear to present vestiges of an intermediate state of the language, before the change was entirely effected.

lavantur, saepius calida] Of the verb 'lavor' there is an active form 'lavo,' as in Terence, And. iii. 2. 3, 'Nunc primum fac istaec ut lavet.' According to Varro (De Lingua Lat. viii. 61) there is a difference between 'lavo' and 'lavor;' the former meaning to wash parts of the body, the latter the whole, and used therefore in the sense of taking a bath. I do not think however that this difference really exists. The use of 'lavo' for 'lavor' seems equivalent to 'moveo' for 'moveor;' the pronoun properly following the active forms being often omitted from the natural tendency towards abbreviation. The use of the bath is, I believe, commonly alluded to in the Norse Sagas; and in Icelandic houses there was usually a bath-room, near the entrance, in which the inmates often took warm baths. In the Scandinavian idioms of the present day Saturday is always termed 'lördag,' 'löverdag,' or the like, implying the bath day.

calida] This is used absolutely for hot water, with the ellipse of 'aqua.' So Juv. v. 63, "Quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister;" and Pliny (Epist. iii. 5) has 'frigida lavari.'

sua cuique mensa] This was contrary to the usual custom of the Romans, amongst whom three, or occasionally four guests, reclined on each of the 'triclinia,' which surrounded the table on three sides. Sometimes however two or three had a table between them.

Crebrae, ut inter vinolentos rixae, raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. Sed de reconciliandis invicem inimicis, et jungendis adfinitatibus, et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant: tanquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incalescat. Gens non astuta nec callida, aperit adhuc secreta pectoris, licentia joci. Ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens postera die retractatur; et salva utriusque temporis ratio est. Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

XXIII. Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus. Proximi ripae

rixae] Tacitus remarks in H. i. 64, "Jurgia primum, mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios prope in proelium exarsere." 'Jurgium' therefore implies less than 'rixa,' and is a wordy contest; and, according to a fragment of Cicero, is used technically for a law-suit between neighbours. 'Rixa' is more than this, and is defined to be 'pugna duorum,' involving blows. "Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum." Juv. iii. 289.

saepius caede] This was no doubt a common occurrence; for by the Salic law, if any one was killed at a feast, the survivors were either to pay amongst them the composition for homicide, or convict some one individual of the crime.

simplices cogitationes] There are many interpretations of these words suggested, but the most obvious one seems the truest. Over their cups they disclose their real sentiments, and the man's real thoughts are got at,—a fact Horace describes,—"Simul calentis inverecundus deus, Fervidiore mero arcana promorat loco."

non astuta nec callida] The former denotes a person naturally cunning: the latter, one who has acquired sagacity by experience. 'Astutus' keeps his own interest in view, and has an eye to the main chance. 'Calliditas,' derived from 'callum,' the horny skin on the hand, produced by hard labour, denotes the shrewdness obtained by long contact with the world about one; and is the mark of one "cujus ut manus opere, sic mens usu concalluit." (Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 10.)

omnium mens . . . . retractatur] The word 'mens' here is used a little curiously, for the result arrived at by the united intellect of the council, or rather the two ideas are confused together. Some of the editors to avoid this put a full stop after 'mens,' but it does not seem necessary.

XXIII. *humor ex hordeo*] Ale or beer does not seem to have been known to the Romans, except as the beverage of foreign nations. The Egyptians (Herod. ii. 77) used barley wine; and Pliny the Elder mentions its use by the people of Northern and Western Europe. Amongst the Scandinavian nations one of the pleasures of the warrior after death was to sit in the Hall of Odin, Valhalla, and quaff ale out of the skulls of his enemies. "I am going," sang Regner Lodbrog, in his death chant, "to be placed on the highest seat, there to quaff goblets of beer with the gods."

corruptus] This word does not

et vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices: agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum. Sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. Adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. Si indulseris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

XXIV. Genus spectaculorum unum, atque in omni coetu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se, atque infestas frameas, saltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem: non in quaestum tamen, aut mercedem: quamvis audacis laesciviae pretium est,

necessarily imply any thing more than that an entire change had taken place in the character of the liquid, or that its true nature had been perverted. When Virgil (G. ii. 466) says, "liquidi casia corrumpitur usus olivi," he only means, that to mix oil with perfume, was a perversion of its natural use. In an account left of the old method of making beer, in use amongst the Britons and Kelts generally, we are told the grain is steeped in water until it germinates. It is then dried and ground, and mixed with water, which is afterwards fermented.

recens fera] The Germans had no fancy for tender meat, and therefore dressed it as soon as it was killed. If the account of Pomponius Mela be correct (iii. 3), they were not even so particular as they are here represented, and often ate their meat raw.

lac concretum] According to Caesar (vi. 21), an important item in the food of the Germans was cheese ('caseus'). However, as Pliny (xi. 96) remarks, that it was a strange thing that barbarous nations had so long remained without the knowledge of cheese, Caesar probably meant by this term the curds of milk, coagulated by turning sour, or artificial means.

haud minus facile] This sentence is not quite so easy as it looks; for Tacitus could hardly intend to say that the Germans were ever easily conquered by the Romans,—an assertion notoriously the reverse of true. What he really means I think is, that under the circumstances mentioned, the Germans would be easily conquered; and that quite as much from their own fault as the prowess of the Romans. There is a like condensation in H. ii. 69, "apud quos virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius stetit;" i. e. Roman affairs were more prosperous; and this prosperity was caused by their own excellence, not by money.

XXIV. *inter gladios*] It was a common amusement amongst the Greeks and Romans at banquets and elsewhere to witness feats of this description: Οὐ δήπου καὶ ἐς μαχαίρας γε κυβιστᾶν (ἐπίσταιτο ἄν), Plato, Euthyd. 294, E. According to Xenophon (Symp. ii. 11), a circle was made of upright swords, and the dancer tumbled in and out again.

quamvis] This word has two uses in Latin: it is employed to qualify some adjective, as here it qualifies 'audacis;' cf. Cic. ad Famil. ii. 16, "eo si onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem;" or it is used as a conjunction with verbs. Cf. Epist. ad Attic. xvi. 7, "quamvis non fueris suasor et impulsor profectionis meae, approbator certe fuisti." In this

voluptas spectantium. Aleam (quod mirere) sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo ac novissimo jactu de libertate et de corpore contendant. Victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis junior, quamvis robustior, alligari se ac venire patitur. Ea est in re prava pervicacia: ipsi fidem vocant. Servos conditionis hujus per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae exsolvant.

XXV. Ceteris servis, non, in nostrum morem, descriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur. Suam quisque sedem, suos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis, ut colono, injungit: et servus hactenus paret. Cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi

sense it is generally by the best writers joined to the subjunctive mood, 'quanquam' taking the indicative, probably because the former word expresses a limitation rather as a matter of conception in the mind of another, than of actual fact, like the latter. This rule however is disregarded by Tacitus, who in fact sometimes just reverses it.

quod mirere] Not so much after all to wonder at; for gaming being "an enchanting witchery gotten between idleness and avarice," is almost universally prevalent amongst savages, where the time unoccupied by the chase or war hangs heavily on their hands.

extremo ac novissimo] The former of these words conveys the idea of being the end of a series: the throw is a finishing one. 'Novissimus' implies that it is a desperate throw, the man having nothing further to stake. A throw might therefore be 'extremus,' and yet not 'novissimus.'

XXV. *descriptis per familiam &c.*] The great difference between the mass of Greek and Roman slaves, and the slaves mentioned in this chapter, consists in this, that the former were absolutely at the disposal of the master, as much as a negro is in the slave-holding Southern States of America, whereas the latter were 'glebae adscripti,' attached to the soil. The Thessalian 'Penestae,' and Laconian 'Helots,' were on much the same footing; and a similar class of serfs exists now in Russia, and did exist until a comparatively recent date in France. The serf of this description is bound to the soil on which he is born. He can be sold or let with it, but not away from it, at least, not without his consent, and is compelled to work so many days a week for his master. The 'villeins' of the middle ages were very much probably like the slaves here spoken of by Tacitus. Afterwards the Germans began to have personal slaves; and these praedial serfs were distinguished by the name of 'lidi.' The extent of the division of duties amongst the Roman personal slaves of a household may be inferred from the variety of names used to designate their offices, such as 'pistores,' 'coqui,' 'dulciarii,' 'salmentarii,' &c.

quisque] That is, of course, each slave.

Cetera domus] I do not see the difficulty some commentators find in these words. The serf provides

exsequuntur. Verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere, rarum. Occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune. Liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, nunquam in civitate, exceptis duntaxat iis gentibus, quae regnantur. Ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros, impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt.

the corn or cattle for consumption, or materials for the dress of his master: these may without any impropriety be called 'officia domus,' because connected with the household management. All other duties of the homestead the master's own wife and children perform, and with them the serf has no concern. Or the phrase may be like one in H. iv. 56. "legatis tantum legionum interfectis ceterum vulgus . . . facile accessurum;" so that the words will be equivalent to 'cetera, sc. quaecunque domus officia sunt,' &c. In either case the house is the house of the master, not of the slave.

Occidere solent . . . . impune] In this respect the usage of the Germans and the Romans seems to have been the same. Under the republic the law hardly appears to have interfered at all with the power of a master over his slave. Under the emperors, however, enactments were at different times passed to restrict the severity of punishment arbitrarily inflicted. In the other point mentioned here, 'verberare . . . . rarum,' there was a decided contrast to the Roman treatment; for the lash was in such frequent use, that the slaves professed often to have given up caring for it; and the 'lorarii' are represented as worn out with flogging to no purpose. Cf. Plaut. Asin. iii. 2. 29, "Ubi saepe ad languorem tua duritia dederis octo validos lictores ulmeis affectos lentis virgis."

Liberti] At the end of the chapter Tacitus uses 'libertini;' and one expects to find some reason for the difference. Generally speaking 'libertus' designates a manumitted slave, viewed with reference to his late master; while 'libertinus' denotes his social position. Consequently Ernesti wants to alter 'libertus' here into 'libertinus,' as he does in many other passages: for instance, in H. i. 46. It does not however seem unlikely that when contrasted as here with 'servus,' 'libertus' may be used purposely. The word 'servus' of necessity brings up the idea of 'dominus;' and with reference to him, 'libertus' would naturally suggest itself, and not 'libertinus.' On the other hand, when the free-born are contrasted with freedmen, and no idea of a master is introduced, 'libertini' would be the natural term to use, as below, and in A. xiii. 27, "si separarentur libertini, manifestam fore penuriam ingenuorum."

There may be also, I think, a different view taken of the matter. At the court of the Roman emperors the powerful freedmen would be influential in their character of 'liberti' rather than 'libertini,' that is, simply as individuals still attached to their old master's person. As Tacitus had this in view when he wrote, 'liberti' would be the word naturally occurring to his mind. At the end of the chapter, when he is describing the inferiority of their social position, he uses the proper word, 'libertinus.'

regnantur] 'are ruled by kings.' Cf. H. i. 16, and A. xiii. 54.

super ingenuos . . . ascendunt] Under

XXVI. Foenus agitare et in usuras extendere, ignotum: ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur: facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant.

the emperors at Rome freedmen were all-powerful. "Plerique principes," says Pliny, Paneg. lxxxviii. s. 1, "cum essent civium domini, libertorum erant servi; horum consiliis, horum nutu regebantur, per hos audiebant, per hos loquebantur." When Pallas, a freedman of Claudius ('quasi arbitrum regni agebat,' is the account Tacitus gives of him), was removed from his offices by Nero, he was described as having abdicated the imperial throne. (A. xiii. 14.)

XXVI. *Foenus agitare*] There is some difficulty about this passage. 'Foenus' is used by Tacitus several times; and in some passages means interest, and in others capital. (See A. xiv. 55, and vi. 17.) If it means interest here, it is not easy to say what the words 'in usuras extendere' are, unless it implies to get compound interest, which does not seem to me a likely thing for Tacitus to say; nor do I see that the words naturally suggest this idea. I believe rather that 'foenus agitare' is a general phrase, for to embark in money transactions, to employ capital; and the next words add the idea of putting out this capital to interest, a notion not of necessity implied by the first words; for Suetonius speaks of 'gratuito aut levi foenore.' As has been noticed in the Introduction, this passage is a good measure of the historian's wish to contrast the German and Roman habits; for otherwise, after his remarks on the absence of money, the observations here made would be extremely superfluous.

Agri &c.] This is a very difficult passage to understand, although a very easy one to translate. As far as I can make it out it means as follows:—"A tribe, or canton, or subdivision of it, having plenty of land about them, took possession as a community ('ab universis') of a quantity of it, suited to their numbers ('pro numero cultorum'). As soon as this was done ('mox'), they divided this land into portions, some larger, some smaller, for the 'principes' and 'plebs' respectively ('secundum dignationem'). After harvest they allowed the fields, just reaped, to lie fallow, and selected other land in like manner. The year following they might, of course, if they liked, select again any portion, great or small, they found convenient of the fallow land, and so on yearly ('in vices'). This they were able to do, as there was land enough, and to spare ('superest ager'), and there was no necessity for any system of rotation crops." A point I am not clear about is, what the praedial slaves did; for each was said to have his own homestead; and in A. xiii. 54, fixed abodes are mentioned. Possibly however as the huts were only turfed over, or hollowed out under hill-sides, &c., there is no such absolute permanence implied as to interfere with the supposed annual change. If this is a correct view of the passage, it will agree very well with Caesar's account of the matter (vi. 22), according to which the magistrates yearly assigned to divisions of the tribe different portions of land.

Some of the editors, however, not satisfied with this account, instead of 'in vices,' read 'in vicos,' and refer the passage to the permanent occupancy of the soil:

Arva per annos mutant; et superest ager: nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. Unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent: autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

XXVII. Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur.

'They apportion land to form villages, and' &c.

Arva per annos mutant] 'Arvum' is used here in its proper sense, of arable land; and the words do not imply that the occupants of the soil differ every year, but that what is arable one year, becomes fallow the next, and vice versâ. It could not mean the former, because corn was their only produce; and as there was no system of rotation, the soil could not bear successive crops, but had to lie fallow in alternate years.

With regard to the whole of the account here given, one can scarcely think this apparently entire absence of private property in land likely. Can it be that Tacitus's account is only a repetition of Caesar's, or a general inference drawn by him from what Caesar may have known to occur in the case of the occupation by Germans of some dispossessed Gallic tribes?—an assumption, in fact, that what may have been only a temporary expedient was the universal custom of the Teutonic race.

non in totidem] That is, as many as we do. They grow only corn; and winter, spring, and summer completing this department of husbandry, they have no name for autumn, the great time for fruit crops. There is even now in English no word of home growth to designate this part of the year; autumn of course being of Latin origin.

XXVII. *crementur*] There seem to have been two periods, tolerably well separated from each other, amongst Teutonic nations, during which burning and burying the dead respectively prevailed. The former method existed, according to this passage, at all events as late as the time of Tacitus. Amongst the Romans this order was just reversed; burial having been the primitive custom, and burning the later one. Pliny (vii. 55) gives the reason: "Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur, at postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere institutum." Even when burning the dead was a general custom, some old families retained the practice of burial.

vestibus] Lucan (ix. 175), in a description of the honours paid to Pompeius Magnus by Cornelia, mentions this point in the Roman usage,—

"Collegit vestes miserique insignia Magni,
Armaque et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim,
Exuvias, pictasque togas; velamina summo
Ter conspecta Jovi, funestoque intulit igni."

sua cuique arma] This practice

Sepulcrum caespes erigit. Monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem, ut gravem defunctis, aspernantur. Lamenta ac lacrymas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. Feminis lugere honestum est: viris meminisse. Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus. Nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quae nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

XXVIII. Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Julius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam

was long continued by the Teutonic nations. In the tombs that have been opened of the Frankish kings and others, swords, spears, shields, and I believe, in some cases, the bones of horses have been discovered. The same custom still exists amongst the American Indians; bows, arrows, skins, domestic utensils being deposited in the graves with the dead, on the supposition of course that the life in the world of spirits will resemble in occupation and wants the life in this.

singularum gentium instituta ritusque] Tacitus here begins the second part of his work, a description of the localities of the several German tribes, with an account of their civil institutions ('instituta') and religious observances ('ritus'). He does this in a certain order. In c. xxviii. he speaks of tribes of uncertain origin; in c. xxix.—xxxiv., he describes those who border on the Rhine towards the West; in c. xxxv.—xxxvii., the Rhine peoples towards the North; in c. xxxviii.—xli., the members of the Suevic league; in c. xlii., xliii., the tribes lying along the Danube; and in c. xliv., xlv., the dwellers on the shores of the Northern Ocean.

XXVIII. *Validiores*] Caesar (vi. 24) remarks that once the Gauls were superior to the Germans, attacked them, and sent out colonies. There were no doubt Gauls settled on the eastern side of the Rhine. He mentions one tribe by name, the Volcae Tectosages, dwelling near the Hercynian forest, — and part of the basin of the Danube was more or less occupied by Kelts, including Bohemia and Bavaria. However, because so far Caesar's fact is true, it does not follow that his method of accounting for it is true also. The Gauls may either have made a retrograde movement Eastwards, as in fact they did at other times, or the localities mentioned may have been occupied by remnants of an old Keltic population, dispossessed in the main by encroaching Teutonic peoples. Tacitus' inference seems as likely to be the true one as any other. However this may be, the Gauls were once no doubt more powerful than in Caesar's time. They had once occupied nearly all Spain, conquered Britain, established themselves in the fairest provinces of Italy, taken Rome, penetrated into Illyria, entered Macedonia, and, crossing the Hellespont and the Thracian Bosporus, overrun a great part of Asia Minor.

divus] The Roman emperors on their decease were usually deified. The custom apparently began with Caius Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 88), and seems to have merged into a mere piece of routine. For an account of the ceremonies observed on the occasion, see Smith's Dict. of Antiq., p. 61. 'Divus' came to mean little more than 'the late emperor.'

Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Quantulum enim amnis obstabat, quominus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permuturetque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas? Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes, Helvetii; ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere. Manet adhuc Boihemi nomen, significatque loci veterem memoriam, quamvis mutatis cultoribus. Sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, quum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est: quia pari olim inopia ac libertate, eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae

Helvetii] Tacitus here makes this people once settled between the Rhine, the Main, and the Hercynian forest, i.e. in the northern portion of the duchy of Baden, and part of Bavaria. If they ever were there, the Germans must have driven them back; for in Caesar's time they were west of the Rhine, between it and the Jura.

Boihemi nomen] This name means the 'home of the Boii;' 'hem' being the 'heim' in Mannheim, and the 'ham' of English names. As Bavaria means very much the same thing (cf. Cantware, the people of Kent), it is not certain that Bohemia is here designated to the exclusion of Bavaria; at all events, the locality here given suits the position of modern Bavaria as well as that of Bohemia. See Dr. Latham's note on the passage.

quamvis mutatis] According to Livy (v. 34), one of the two sons of the king of the Bituriges, Segovesus, crossed the Rhine with a large body of his countrymen, and penetrated to the skirts of the Hercynian forest. The Boii seem to have followed him, and settled in the country Bohemia or Bavaria (see the last note). This is said to have taken place when Tarquinius Priscus was king at Rome, B.C. 600. From this abode they were afterwards driven by the Marcomani, and withdrew South of the Danube. In this way a Keltic was superseded by a Teutonic occupancy.

Aravisci .... ab Osis] The first-mentioned people were situated in the north-east corner of Pannonia, near Buda and Komorn. The Osi were east of Moravia. In c. 43, Tacitus mentions that the Osi were proved by their Pannonian language not to be Germans; therefore the description here given of their being a nation of Germans only implies that their position was in a country mainly occupied by Germans. In other words, the statement here is a geographical, not an ethnological one. Probably, I think, they were Slavonians; and the only question is, whether the Osi had pushed forward to the locality here given them, or were a remnant left, when the great bulk of their countrymen were driven out by Germanic invaders. As the country occupied by them seems to have been mountainous, they probably were able to maintain themselves in their strongholds when the other Slavonian population was broken up, and forced to retire.

Treveri] As Tacitus below speaks of certain tribes as unequivocally German ('haud dubie Germanorum populi'), it seems a fair in-

originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis, a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes. Ne Ubii quidem, quanquam Romana colonia esse meruerint, ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

XXIX. Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus, et seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos, et antiquae societatis in-

ference that, in his opinion, the Teutonic origin of the Treveri and Nervii was doubtful. At all events, the Treveri were probably a Keltic race. Their name suggests the Cornish Trelawney, and similar compounds of 'tre,' a Keltic word for 'place.' Besides, St. Jerome distinctly asserts the language of the Galatae of Phrygia to be the same as that of the Treveri.

Nervii] According to Appian this people was descended from the Cimbri. If so, this would be an argument in favour of their Keltic, rather than Germanic origin.

Triboci] This would also appear to be a Keltic tribe (see the note on Treveri); and besides this, one of the names of their towns given by Ptolemy, Βρευκόμαγος, is Keltic in form, and they are mentioned by Tacitus (H. iv. 70) in conjunction with apparently Keltic tribes. The substance of these last notes is taken from Dr. Latham.

Ubii . . .] The Ubii in Caesar's time were East of the Rhine; but (A. xii. 27) in the reign of Augustus they removed across the river, to escape from the Chatti, under the protection of Vipsanius Agrippa, from whom, according to this passage, they were called Agrippinenses. Generally however the foundation of the colony is ascribed to Agrippina, daughter of Caesar Germanicus.

XXIX. *insulam Rheni*] Tacitus (A. ii. 6) places the Batavi in the island between the main branch of the Rhine, where it divides at Burginatium, the Vahalis (Waal), and the Mosa (Maas), after the Vahalis flows into it. The island is bounded on the west by the sea. According to Pliny the island was 100 miles in length, and its breadth increases from the point of junction of the two rivers, to about twenty-five miles. Traces of the name still remain in Betuwe, the district between the Rhine, Waal, and Lek. By the words 'non multum ex ripa' just before, Tacitus seems to mean that over and above the island they occupied a portion of the left bank of the Rhine, outside the island altogether; and by the Rhine he clearly means the Vahalis, as a portion of the larger stream. The Batavi therefore occupied a portion of the district bounded on the north by the Waal, and south by the Maas. The quantity of the middle syllable of 'Batavi' varies, being found both long and short.

societatis] The Batavi were allies of Rome under Augustus, and were

signe: nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit: exempti oneribus et collationibus, et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. Est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum, ultraque veteres terminos, imperii reverentiam. Ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et coelo acrius animantur. Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quanquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque consederint, eos, qui Decumates agros exercent.

employed by the Romans, under Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, as cavalry on the Lower Rhine. They served also in Britain in the reign of Claudius. After an attempt to throw off the Roman yoke under Civilis, A.D. 69, they were again reduced to submission. As for the phrase 'societatis insigne,' it seems only to refer to the exemptions from tribute mentioned directly afterwards, and to have no reference to hands of silver joined together, described in H. i. 54.

tributis] 'Tributum' was originally the direct tax levied on Roman citizens according to the value of their property, land or personal: this was afterwards remitted, so far as they were concerned, but imposed on the provinces. There, every subject possessed of land, paid a tax of ten per cent. on the annual produce in grain, and five per cent. on that in wine, fruits, &c.; while those who had no land, paid on their personal effects. If these imposts were paid in kind, the provincials were 'vectigales;' if a money contribution was made, forming a fixed rent-charge, they were termed 'stipendiarii.' From these taxes the Batavi were free, being not only exempt from 'onera,' fixed imposts, but from 'collationes,' extraordinary charges, either voluntary, like our old benevolences, or forced.

Mattiacorum gens] This people was situated in the duchy of Nassau, near Wiesbaden, between the Maenus (Main), Lagana (Lahn), and the Rhine. Tacitus (H. iv. 37) mentions them in conjunction with the Chatti and Usipii, as besieging Magontiacum (Mainz); and Pliny (xxxi. 2) describes the warm fountains existing amongst them. They are of course spoken of here out of their due place (see note on c. xxviii.) merely because they are on a similar footing with the Batavi.

mente animoque] Caesar (i. 39) joins these words together: "Tantus subito timor .... exercitum occupavit, ut .... omnium mentes animosque perturbaret." Whereby I understand him to imply that the sudden fright upset their reasoning faculties and impulsive emotions; they were suddenly cowed, and they could not reason themselves out of their panic. Tacitus means about the same here, I think; the Mattiaci from rational conviction and feeling held with the Romans, and not with their own countrymen.

solo et coelo] That is, their country was hilly, and not marshy, like that of the Batavi: the air was therefore keener, and more bracing than the fogs of the Insula Batavorum.

Decumates agros] This was a district north of the Danube, and east of the Rhine (Baden, most of

Levissimus quisque Gallorum, et inopia audax, dubiae possessionis solum occupavere. Mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis, sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

XXX. Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu inchoant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt: et Chattos suos

Wurtemberg, and a small part of Bavaria), seized by the Romans, when the Germans retreated towards the East, and given by them to Gauls and immigrating Germans, and then to their own veterans to occupy, subject to a tax of one-tenth of the produce. To keep off the hostile Germans it was protected, probably under Domitian, by a bank ('limes'), from the Rhine, near Cologne, to M. Taunus and the Odenwald, and from Lorch to Ratisbon, on the Danube, by a wall, of which traces still remain. Lands of the kind here described were generally called 'agri Decumani.' Tacitus here terms them 'agri Decumates,' perhaps because the former phrase was used to designate tithe lands in a regular province, whereas those now alluded to formed no province.

XXX. *Chatti*] The country of this people lay between the Main in the South, and the sources of the Elison (Alme) and Visurgis (Weser); and from the Westerwald in the West to the Sala (Saale) in Franconia, occupying the modern Hessian district; Hesse, in fact, being only a form of Chatti. They first occur in the campaigns of Drusus, who defeated them, and took their capital, Mattium. In the great Marcomanic war they made incursions into Upper Germany and Rhaetia, and were afterwards merged in the Franks. These Chatti are probably the people mentioned by Caesar under the name of Suevi, on which point see Dr. Latham's note.

Hercynio] This is probably a Keltic name from 'erchynn,' 'high,' and the Hercynian forest was, therefore, a tree-clad mountain range. According to Caesar it ran from the Rauraci (Baden), parallel to the Danube, as far as the Daci; traversing Wurtemberg, Bohemia, and Upper Hungary; it then turned North, and after encircling Hungary, reapproached the Danube in Transylvania. Thus it would comprise the ranges of the Schwarzwald, Odenwald, Rhön, Thüringerwald, Harz, Rauhe Alps, the Erz- and Riesengebirge. Afterwards, the name was confined to the mountains of Bohemia, extending into Hungary.

durant siquidem] This is an unusual position for 'siquidem,' but Tacitus often adopts an order for his conjunctions and prepositions usual only with the poets or writers of the silver age. For instance, he has "Amisiam et Luppiam amnes inter, irritabat quinetiam, frueretur immo iis," &c.; usages not to be copied.

durant siquidem colles &c.] 'the hills are continuous, and gradually sink away; and the Hercynian forest accompanies its familiar Chatti, and leaves them on level ground.' The hills form a continuous range, and the Chatti and the mountains are co-extensive; when the forest sinks to the plain, the Chatti extend no further. This plain may perhaps be the valley of the Werra. 'Prosequi' is a word often used with reference to escorting persons who are setting out from home on some official errand. Cf. Liv. xxvi. 29, 'ad pro-

saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. Duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, et major animi vigor. Multum (ut inter Germanos) rationis ac solertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intelligere occasiones, differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare: quodque rarissimum, nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. Omne robur in pedite, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant. Alios ad proelium ire videas Chattos ad bellum: rari excursus et fortuita pugna. Equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere. Velocitas juxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

XXXI. Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rara et privata cujusque audentia, apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque

sequendum Scipionem officii causa convenerant.'

stricti] Tacitus says elsewhere (H. ii. 32) of the Germans generally, that they were loose-limbed: "fluxis corporibus mutationem soli coelique haud toleraturos." Opposed to this general characteristic, the Chatti have close-knit, compact frames.

ut inter Germanos] 'considering you are dealing with Germans;' for, generally, they were deficient in these qualities, and you would therefore not expect to find very great cleverness amongst them. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 79, "Vestem servosque sequentes, In magno ut populo si quis vidisset;" 'seen casually, as you only would do, in so large a population.'

occasiones] 'Occasio' always means 'a favourable opportunity,' a sense our English word does not now necessarily possess. Cf. Agric. 14, 'Monam insulam adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.'

disponere diem] 'Disponere' was a common word for stationing pickets, and arranging troops in due military order for their respective duties. Here the phrase means that in the daytime they posted the various parts of their armies in due order, with outposts, pickets, &c.; at night they confined their soldiery, after the Roman fashion, within ramparts and trenches.

Velocitas] In the opinion of the Chatti, of course this means, 'rapidity borders on alarm, while slowness of movement is more akin to steadiness.'

XXXI. *crinem barbamque submittere*] There is an instance of this custom mentioned in the History (iv. 61), when Civilis, the Batavian chief, after a great slaughter of the Romans, shaved off the hair allowed to grow since the beginning of the war. Lipsius quotes a passage from the History of the Langobards, "Sex millia Saxonum qui bello superfuerunt devoverunt se neque barbam neque capillos rasuros nisi se de Suevis hostibus ulciscerentur." Construe—'not to strip off this guise of face required by their vow, and binding them to a life of bravery until they had slain an enemy.'

submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso, exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. Super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, seque tum demum pretia nascendi rettulisse, dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt. Ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor. Fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper annulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. Plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus. Jamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati: omnium penes hos initia pugnarum: haec prima semper acies, visu nova. Nam ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt. Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venere, aluntur: prodigi alieni, contemptores sui: donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

XXXII. Proximi Chattis certum jam alveo Rhenum,

rettulisse] The first syllable of the perfect of 'refero' is always long, probably because it is contracted from an old reduplicated perfect, 'retetuli.' The word ought therefore to have a double 't' in the first syllable.

ferreum insuper annulum] With the Romans the ring was an emblem of social rank, not, as with the Germans, a badge of disgrace. Senators, chief magistrates, and, at last, 'equites,' all wore golden rings, others iron ones, although certain noble families retained rings of the last metal. In the days of chivalry, vows similar to these here described were common. Vertot mentions a Duke of Bourbon, who with his companions vowed to wear a ring round the left leg every Sunday for two years, until they should meet with opponents to fight with.

hic placet habitus] The fashion, Tacitus means, of wearing rings and letting the hair grow. Even after killing an enemy, many of the Chatti permanently adopt the custom, for this seems to be the meaning of 'placet.'

et hostibus &c.] The construction is, 'canent insignes et monstrati hostibus,' &c.; for 'et' and 'que' are not usually, although sometimes, used for 'both . . . and.' 'Monstratus' is often employed by later writers in this sense, although rarely found in Cicero. Cf. H. i. 88, "vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus;" and Pliny, Paneg. 88, "ut olim frugalitate Pisones, pietate Metelli monstrabantur."

contemptores sui] These forms in 'or' are great favourites with Tacitus. This particular word is found in Livy, Sallust, and the poets, but, according to Boeticher, 'accumulator,' 'concertator,' 'detractor,' 'exstimulator,' 'profligator,' 'sanctor,' 'subversor,' 'venditator,' 'visor,' are found in him alone; and some seventeen or eighteen more, chiefly in later writers.

XXXII. *certum jam alveo*] Pomponius Mela has a similar phrase: "Mox diu solidus et certo alveo lapsus haud procul a mari huc et illuc dispergitur." The phrase clearly means to describe the Rhine as confined within its banks, and not overflowing its limits into pools. I think Tacitus speaks of the river as emerging so as to say from the shallows and numerous branches,

quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipii ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus, equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt. Nec major apud Chattos peditum laus quam Tencteris equitum. Sic instituere majores, posteri imitantur. Hi lusus infantium, haec juvenum aemulatio, perseverant senes: inter familiam et penates et jura successionum, equi traduntur: excipit filius; non, ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

XXXIII. Juxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse nar-

found in its lower course, amidst the Batavi, and forming a stream within a single, well-defined channel. Of course, the objection to this is that Tacitus, in so describing it, begins at the wrong end, and goes up the river instead of down it; but I think this is after all less objectionable than the other view held by Walther, Ritter, and others, who make the words refer to the Upper Rhine, swollen by snow, rain, &c., and liable to sudden inundations. One can hardly help thinking that the Rhine must be 'certus alveo' long before it gets to the point where it traverses the country of the Usipii, below, or at all events near, Cologne; unless one supposes Tacitus to have possessed a very mistaken idea of the upper course of the Rhine.

Usipii ac Tencteri] According to Caesar, these tribes being expelled from their abodes by the Suevi, after three years' wandering seized the lands of the Menapii, between the Rhine and the Moselle. After their conquest by Caesar, the survivors took refuge amongst the Sugambri, and on the removal of the latter to Gaul, occupied their seats near the Luppia (Lippe). Afterwards the Usipii moved South between the Sieg and the Lahn: the Tencteri settled between the Sieg and the Ruhr.

XXXIII. *Bructeri*] The Bructeri are mentioned by Tacitus (A. i. 60) as having been conquered by Drusus; their settlements were on the Amisia (Ems). They were divided into Majores and Minores; the former living West of the Ems. They appear to have occupied all the lands between the Ems and the Lippe, in modern Westphalia. Claudian speaks of them as living near the Hercynian forest; but, as Cluverius observes, by this he meant probably the Wetterwald. They are said by Velleius Paterculus to have been conquered by Tiberius; but they appear to have taken a part in the battle of the Saltus Teutobergiensis, as a Roman eagle was found amongst them. Their entire destruction by other German tribes mentioned below can hardly be otherwise than an exaggeration, for they are afterwards mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy as defeated by Spurinna in Trajan's reign; and under the slightly varied names of Burcturi and Bricteri occur in the Itineraries and Sulpicius Alexander; being ranked by the last as members of the Frank confederacy. The battle Tacitus mentions here must have taken place between A.D. 70 and 98; for they are mentioned (H. iv. 21) as taking part in the revolt of Civilis, and the last date is the year when Tacitus wrote his Germania.

Chamavi] According to Tacitus (A. xiii. 55) the Chamavi dwelt on

ratur, pulsis Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiae odio, seu praedae dulcedine, seu favore quodam erga nos deorum: nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere: super LX millia, non armis telisque Romanis, sed, quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. Maneat quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui: quando, urgentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam praestare fortuna majus potest quam hostium discordiam.

XXXIV. Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgibini,

the Rhine, in a district afterwards occupied by the Tubantes and Usipetes; afterwards they are found further in the interior, in Osnaburg, and part of Westphalia. They are subsequently enumerated with other tribes as members of the Frankish league.

Angrivarii] The Angrivarii dwelt between the Bructeri and the Fosi, on both sides of the Visurgis (Weser), and extended eastwards almost to the Albis (Elbe). They were separated by a mound from the Cherusci on the South. In A.D. 16, they joined the Cheruscan league, and with their confederates were defeated at Campus Idistavisus, perhaps near Minden. Their name is connected with 'anger,' a meadow, and 'ware,' inhabitants; and Engern, in Westphalia, seems to point out their locality, and preserve the name.

spectaculo] The construction of 'invidere' in the Augustan writers is, a dative of the person, and an accusative of that with reference to which the envy is felt; as, "ut nobis optimam naturam invidisse videantur." In the writers of the silver age, the construction is changed from the accusative to the ablative. Quinctilian says (ix. 3), "si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene jam quidquid loquimur figura est, ut 'hac re invidere,' non ut omnes veteres et Cicero praecipue, hanc rem." (Cicero however has a kind of intermediate form, "in qua tibi invideo quod unis vestimentis lautus es.") Cf. A. i. 22, 'ne hostes quidem sepultura invident.'

oculisque] It was Spurinna and his army, probably, who had the good fortune to witness this carnage; for Pliny the Younger speaks of that general as having restored the king of the Bructeri to his throne, and cowed the tribe into submission.

urgentibus] Livy (v. 36) uses this word in the same way, 'jam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis.' These words were written at the beginning of Trajan's reign, and before his great military enterprises were undertaken. The events which induced Tacitus to speak thus gloomily of the prospects of his country were probably the rebellion of Civilis, and the civil dissensions and reverses under Domitian. See H. i. 2.

XXXIV. *a tergo . . . claudunt*] These words must imply that the Dulgibini and Chasuarii are South-east of the Chamavi and Angrivarii, judging from the other expression, 'a fronte,' which can only mean on the North-west, from the position of the Frisii along the coast.

Dulgibini] The Dulgibini were settled between the sources of the Lippe and the Weser, in Detmold, and about Paderborn. Ptolemy places them across the Weser, further inland, but they probably moved about a good deal between the two dates.

et Chasuarii cludunt, aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae. A fronte Frisii excipiunt. Majoribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est, ex modo virium: utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. Ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa tentavimus:

Chasuarii] There is some doubt as to the locality of this people. Wilhelm places them North of the Chatti, and West of the Chamavi. According to Ptolemy, they are North-west of the Chatti, and near the head-waters of the Ems. Perhaps as Chatti became Hessians, the Haase river may retain traces of the name of the Chasuarii. Afterwards they appear amongst the Franks in the duchy of Gueldres.

Frisii] The Frisii have retained, as much as any German tribe, always about the same settlements. They were divided into Minores and Majores; the former dwelt West of the Fossa Drusiana, in the provinces of Gueldres and Utrecht; the Majores between the Flevo and the Ems, in the provinces of West Friesland and Groningen. They were stedfast allies of the Romans, and aided Drusus and Germanicus in their war against the Cherusci. In A.D. 28 they revolted, when Olennius oppressed them, and after putting a number of Romans to the sword near the Silva Baduhenna, threw off the Roman yoke (A. iv. 72). In A.D. 59 they took possession of vacant lands near the Rhine; and on being threatened by Dubius Avitus, the governor of the province, with vengeance unless they retired, they sent their two kings, Verritus and Malorex, to Rome; these distinguished themselves by their noble spirit, and were presented with the Roman citizenship. There is no further mention of them until the fourth and fifth centuries, when they appear as members of the Saxon and Angle league, and crossed into Britain with them. Those who were left behind conquered the Insula Batavorum, but were subsequently dispossessed of nearly all their lands by the Frankish kings. From the nature of their country, which was marshy and unproductive, they were poor, and only able to pay a tribute of skins to the Romans (A. iv. 72). Their descendants are still settled in the islands west of Sleswig.

praetexuntur] 'Praetexo' is properly 'to weave a fringe or border at the extremity of any thing;' the 'toga praetexta,' for instance, being called so because it had a purple stripe along the edge. Virgil uses the word metaphorically, 'praetexunt littora puppes,' 'the ships fringe the shore.' Here the Rhine is described as set like a fringe at the extremity of the Frisian territory.

immensos insuper lacus &c.] The lakes here mentioned are the Flevo and others which afterwards formed the Zydersee. Suetonius (Claudius 1.) informs us that Drusus first navigated the Northern Ocean, and his son Germanicus passed with four legions on board his ships, from the Rhine, by the Fossa Drusiana, through these lakes into the ocean, as far as the Ems (A. i. 60, and ii. 8). According to Suetonius, Drusus was warned by a vision to go no further.

illa] Tacitus often uses this ablative of the pronoun, with 'via' understood. Cf. A. ii. 17, "incubueratque sagittariis illa rupturus," 'in that quarter;' and H. v. 18, "terga hostium promittens si extremo paludis eques mitteretur; solidum illa et Gugernos parum intentos," 'the marsh was hard in that direction.'

et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit: sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico: sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit: sanctiusque ac reverentius visum, de actis deorum credere quam scire.

XXXV. Hactenus in Occidentem Germaniam novimus. In Septemtrionem ingenti flexu redit. Ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quanquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Cattos usque sinuetur. Tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent: populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit justitia tueri: sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique, nulla

XXXV. *In Septemtrionem*] By this Tacitus means that the line of coast, after a huge sweep to the North, returns to its old direction. He thus describes the Peninsula of Denmark. Pomponius Mela uses very similar language (iii. 3), "curvansque se subinde longo supercilio inflexum est."

Chauci] These people were neighbours of the Frisii on the East, and lived between the Ems and the Elbe, in Oldenburg and Hanover. The Weser divided them into Majores and Minores; the first on the West, the latter on the East of the river. They were subdued by Tiberius, and after remaining for a considerable period faithful to the Romans, at last incensed by their insolence, rose against them. Gabinius Secundus (Suet. Claud. 24) gained some advantages over them, and Corbulo continued the war (A. xi. 18, &c.), but they were never thoroughly subdued. They took part in the war of Civilis (H. iv. 79). Afterwards, they were members of the Saxon confederacy. Pliny gives an account of them totally at variance with the description of Tacitus, speaking of them as a miserable, half-drowned race. Probably his account was only true of the dwellers in the fen portion of the district, and not of those who lived further inland. In Beowulf they are mentioned apparently under the name of Hocingas, another instance of the change from 'ch' to 'h;' as in Chatti, &c.

quas exposui gentium] These are the Frisii, Angrivarii, Chamavi, Dulgibini, Chasuarii, &c.

sine impotentia] Sometimes 'impotentia' is used for weakness, in the sense of imbecility; cf. Ter. Adelph. 4. 3. 16, "propter suam impotentiam se semper credunt negligi." Generally, however, it means weakness in the sense of want of self-control; as A. i. 4, "accedere matrem muliebri impotentia;" and A. iv. 57, "traditur etiam matris impotentia extrusum, quam dominationis sociam aspernabatur." The absolute use of the word as here, without any qualifying clause, hardly seems usual in the best age.

secretique] The first meaning of this word is 'retired,' 'withdrawn from others;' and this is the sense

provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per injurias assequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, exercitus: plurimum virorum equorumque: et quiescentibus eadem fama.

XXXVI. In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque, Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illacessiti nutrierunt: idque jucundius quam tutius fuit: quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas: ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superioris sunt. Ita qui olim boni aequique Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti

in which the word is generally used by the Augustan writers. For instance, Liv. xxiii. 8, "ubi in secretum (hortus erat posticis aedium partibus) pervenerunt." For this meaning in Tacitus see H. i. 10; Agric. 38. The second meaning is 'secret' in our sense of the word; cf. A. iv. 7, "secreta quoque ejus corrupta uxore prodebantur." This use of the word is rare in the best writers, but frequent in Tacitus and his contemporaries.

plurimum] Tacitus seems to have added these words by way of explaining what he meant by 'exercitus.' Some of the German tribes were powerful in infantry, like the Chatti; others in cavalry as the Batavi and Tencteri; the Chauci however possessed both in great numbers.

XXXVI. *Cherusci*] This people—to be distinguished from the Cheruscan league, which contained other nations as well—appears to have occupied a tract bounded by the Weser on the West, and the Elbe in the East, and reaching from Mons Melibocus in the North as far as the Sudeti in the South. Their locality was therefore the modern Luneburg, Brunswick, Magdeburg, &c. They were on good terms with the Romans until the conduct of Varus roused them to rebellion, and they formed a league of their neighbours, the Dulgibini, Chasuarii, &c., and totally defeated Varus and his three legions near the Saltus Teutobergiensis, under the command of Arminius, A.D. 9. Germanicus endeavoured with no great success to reduce them, and it was only in consequence of internal dissensions that the Chatti overcame them, so that Ptolemy only knew them as a small tribe South of the Harz mountains. They appear afterwards in the great Frank confederacy. When Tacitus describes them as being in 'latere Chaucorum Chattorumque,' he means that they are on the Eastern frontier of those tribes.

jucundius quam tutius] This double comparative is both a Greek and a Latin idiom, whereas ours requires one of the adjectives to be in the positive. It seems easily accounted for. Turn the sentence in this way,—of two courses it was the pleasanter, rather than the safer.

qui olim boni &c.] Tacitus does not mean that any deterioration took place in the Cherusci: the only change was in their circumstances. They were once powerful, and then their peaceful tendency appeared the result of moderation and justice. When their power was gone, this forbearance was regarded as a proof of weakness and cowardice. The Chatti were more lucky: they were

vocantur: Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. Tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, quum in secundis minores fuissent.

XXXVII. Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens: veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. Sexcentesimum et quadragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbrorum audita sunt arma, Caecilio Metello ac Papirio Carbone consulibus. Ex quo si ad

victorious, and their superior fortune was thought to be superior wisdom.

Fosi] The Fosi were probably located by the river Fuse in Hildesheim and Brunswick.

XXXVII. *Eundem . . . sinum*] 'The same nook,' or 'corner.' This refers to the Cimbric Chersonnese, or promontory of Sleswig, Jutland, &c., mentioned before in the sentence 'ingenti flexu,' &c.

Cimbri] Whether these people were a Teutonic or Keltic race is a disputed point. Almost all the ancient authorities agree in making the Cimbric Chersonnese, Jutland that is, their native home. But if they were Keltic, it is not easy to understand how they were so far separated from their brethren. Perhaps they were cut off as the rear-guard of the great Keltic movement by a rapid influx of Teutonic races. Their name, so nearly resembling that of the Kymri, a great division of the Keltic race, their manners, described by Plutarch, and the name of their leader, Bojorix, are all in favour of the Keltic extraction. Tacitus and other writers however treat them as Germanic, chiefly, most likely, from their situation amongst undoubted Germans.

utraque ripa] This means probably the banks of the Rhine and Danube, although Walther and others understand by it the Rhine alone. After defeating Papirius Carbo at Noreia, supposed to be the modern Friesach in Carinthia, between the Mur and the Drave, for a space of three years they plundered the provinces South of the Danube. During this period their encampments left traces visible in the days of Tacitus.

molem manusque gentis] 'Moles' refers, I think, to the massive character of the works constructed by the Cimbri: 'manus,' to the vast numbers of the workmen employed.

Metello ac Papirio Carbone consulibus] Most of the Manuscripts have 'ac,' but the Codex Perizonianus 'et.' The common usage is to omit the conjunction altogether, but Tacitus often inserts the 'et.' However, apart from the authority of the MSS., which in a point like this is not great, it is worth while to inquire which is the likelier reading; in other words the distinction between 'et' and 'ac.' 'Et' seems to be a mere particle of addition, each item being taken separately, and no more importance being attached to one than the other. 'Ac' is perhaps connected with 'aeque,' and according to Herzog is a logical particle, placing ideas on the same footing, one being equal to the other in the supposed relation. I think however in point of actual fact, it is used to point out that if there is any difference, a little more importance is to be attached to the idea

alterum Imperatoris Trajani consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur: tamdiu Germania vincitur. Medio tam longi aevi spatio, multa invicem damna. Non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae, Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas. Quid enim aliud nobis quam caedem Crassi, amisso et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens objecerit? At

or word following 'ac.' 'Que' again joins one word to another as an appendage to it, or belonging to it so closely as often to form only one complex notion. Consequently 'et' is here the likeliest reading, when it is mentioned that two people, in the way of addition, were Consuls, and no further relation between them is pointed out.

Ex quo &c.] This date was B.C. 113, in which year the Cimbri were first heard of in Noricum. Hence they descended into Illyricum, and at the foot of the Raetian Alps totally defeated Carbo.

tamdiu . . . vincitur] This use of a present tense with a particle of time is common enough. It points out the duration of the fact mentioned for a long time past, and its continuance at the present moment. Tacitus means to say that Germany has been long in conquering, and the conquest is not completed yet.

Hispaniae, Galliaeve] Many of the Roman provinces were subdivided into two parts: there were Hispania trans Iberum, and Hispania cis Iberum: also Gallia Trans, and Cis Alpina.

regno Arsacis] The original country of the Parthians was a tract watered by the Ochus at the South-east extremity of the Caspian Sea. It once formed the Northern portion of Alexander's empire. After his death, Parthia was a province of the kingdom of the Seleucidae. About B.C. 250, Arsaces, a man of obscure origin, shook off the yoke, and totally defeated Seleucus II. (Callinicus), who attempted to reduce him to submission. He was consequently regarded as the founder of the Parthian empire, and those sovereigns after him were called Arsacidae. The remark of Tacitus is equivalent to this, that the Germans, fighting in behalf of liberty, were more vigorous opponents than the Parthians, who only fought to maintain the power of their royal house.

Crassi] In B.C. 54 Crassus set out for Syria with an avowed intention of penetrating, like Alexander, to the furthest bounds of the East. After wintering in Syria, he crossed the Euphrates and plunged into the plains of Mesopotamia under the treacherous guidance of Abgarus, an Arab chief. After suffering great losses from the Parthian attacks, he was induced to meet their general in an interview, and was treacherously seized and in the fray that ensued killed.

infra Ventidium] Ventidius Bassus was a native of Picenum, taken prisoner when young by the Romans in the Social War. After earning a living by furnishing mules to magistrates on their way to the provinces, he became known to Caesar, and rose in B.C. 43 to the rank of Praetor. In B.C. 39 he was sent by Antonius into Asia to oppose Labienus, who was supported by the Parthians. When these last attacked him he defeated them near Mount Taurus, and gained possession of Syria. The next year, Pacorus, son of Orodes the Parthian king, advanced against him, but was defeated in Cyrrhestica and fell in battle. Pliny (vii 44) quotes Ventidius as a remarkable

Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio Caepione, Marco quoque Manlio fusis vel captis, quinque simul consulares exercitus populo Romano, Varum tresque cum eo legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt: nec impune Caius Marius in Italia, divus Julius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus in suis eos sedibus perculerunt. Mox ingentes Caii Caesaris minae in ludi-

instance of the freaks of fortune. By the words 'infra Ventidium dejectus Oriens' Tacitus means that the East must have fallen low indeed to be defeated by Ventidius.

Cassio &c.] The Cimbri and Teutones, after defeating Papirius Carbo, turned westward and overran Gaul. On reaching the Provincia they defeated Silanus, B.C. 109. Lucius Cassius was beaten by the Tigurini in the defence of the frontiers in B.C. 107, and Scaurus the same year. In B.C. 105, Caepio and Manlius were overpowered, and their camp forced, with a terrible slaughter. After a temporary incursion into Spain, the barbarians resolved to enter Italy; the Cimbri and Helvetii taking the longer route, the Teutones and Ambrones making their way by the Cottian Alps. The latter were met by Marius at Aquae Sextiae, and the former near Vercellae, and exterminated.

Manlio] After the condemnation of Marcus Manlius, the preserver of the Capitol, when the Gauls took Rome after the battle of Allia, on the charge of aspiring to the tyranny, no person of the Manlia Gens was allowed to bear the 'praenomen' of Marcus. (Liv. vi. 20.) As to the 'praenomen' of the Manlius here mentioned there is some doubt. Livy, in Epitome 67, and Cicero (Pro Plancio), call him Cnaeus; and in Philip. i. 13, Cicero says, "at enim propter unius Manlii scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem patricium M. Manlium vocari licet," which looks as though it were a rule still in force.

Varus] Quinctilius Varus was made governor of Germany about A.D. 7 or 8. As Drusus had conquered a great part of the country as far as the Weser, Augustus determined to reduce the country to the form of a province. Varus was unfortunate in his way of carrying this out; and in A.D. 9, the Cherusci, with their clients, the Marsi, Bructeri, &c., headed by Arminius, attacked his army, and completely annihilated it, near the defiles of the Saltus Teutobergiensis, between Osnabruck and Paderborn. This defeat lost the Romans all between the Rhine and the Weser; and they never succeeded in firmly re-establishing themselves in that part of Germany. This battle is placed by Professor Creasy amongst the fifteen decisive battles of the world.

Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus] The Nero here mentioned is Tiberius Claudius Nero, the emperor, brother of the Drusus whose name precedes. After the death of Drusus, he commanded in Germany, and crossed the Rhine; and again, after the loss of Varus, obtaining a triumph at Rome for his successes. In accordance with the account given of the conjunctions at the beginning of the chapter, one would suppose 'ac' to be here used between Drusus and Nero, because the two generals are regarded as supplementing each other, in close proximity of time and relationship. Afterwards 'et' is used, as there was no such proximity to be pointed out.

Caii Caesaris] This is the emperor Caligula, who, after making vast

brium versae. Inde otium, donec occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum, expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias affectavere: ac rursus pulsi inde, proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

XXXVIII. Nunc de Suevis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve, gens: majorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quanquam in commune Suevi vocentur. Insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodo-

preparations, marched into Germany. After some ridiculous proceedings, detailed by Suetonius (Calig. 47), he drew up his army on the shore, and bade the soldiers gather shells as trophies of their bravery. According to Persius he was reduced to hire red wigs for his sham captives to wear.

expugnatis legionum hibernis] During the disordered state of the Roman empire consequent on the violent death of Nero, Galba, and Otho, and the struggle between Vitellius and Vespasian, the Batavi and Canninefates, at the instigation of Civilis, threw off the Roman yoke. To this revolt Tacitus alludes here. Cf. H. iv. 15.

proximis temporibus] In the reign of Domitian, who obtained a triumph for his successes against the Chatti (Suet. Domit. 6).

XXXVIII. *Suevi*] These are not to be confounded with the Suevi of Caesar (iv. 1—17). As before remarked, his Suevi are the Chatti of Tacitus. The Suevi here mentioned were rather an aggregate of peoples, than a single tribe, and occupied the country from the Elbe to the Vistula, and from the Baltic to the Danube, comprising Upper Saxony, Bohemia, part of Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Lusatia, &c. They embraced the Semnones, Langobardi, Hermunduri, Marcomani, Quadi, and other tribes, enumerated by Tacitus in c. 38—45. They were probably partly Slavonic, as well as German. And this raises a question of great interest. Tacitus beyond doubt considers all the district occupied by the Suevic tribes to be Germanic. In our day equally beyond doubt a large part of this area, Pomerania, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, &c., are, and have been, Slavonic for centuries. Either then Tacitus was mistaken, or enormous changes must have occurred since his day, and what was Germanic then, is Slavonic now. Against this latter hypothesis there is this to be said, that in this portion of Europe the oldest traces of names are Slavonic; that the time hardly allows of such an entire change, Bohemia, for instance, being Slavonic as early as the seventh century; that in historic periods Slavonians have retreated before Germans, and not vice versa; that when Charlemagne reduced those countries, there appear no traces of previous German occupancy. I believe, then, Tacitus to have been misinformed; for his means of information about these distant tribes must have been very uncertain. For full notices of the question here alluded to Dr. Latham should be consulted, from whom I have taken the main substance of the note.

obliquare crinem] The word 'obliquare' is found only in the poets of the Augustan age, and the prose writers of the silver period. The Suevi gathered up the hair in every direction, instead of letting it hang straight to the back part of the

que substringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis: sic Suevorum ingenui a servis separantur. In aliis gentibus, seu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, seu (quod saepe accidit) imitatione rarum et intra juventae spatium; apud Suevos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro sequuntur, ac saepe in ipso solo vertice religant: principes et ornatiorem habent: ea cura formae, sed innoxiae. Neque enim ut ament amenturve; in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

XXXIX. Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Suevorum Semnones memorant. Fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. Stato tempore in silvam, auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram, omnes ejusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt, caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Est et alia luco reverentia. Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens: si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur: eoque omnis superstitio respicit, tanquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subjecta atque parentia. Adjicit auctoritatem for-

head, and tied it underneath in a knot. Juvenal (xiii. 164) alludes to this:

"Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
Caesariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirrho."

rarum] That is, 'obliquare crinem rarum (est) et intra juventae spatium (fieri solet).'

retro sequuntur] I think the simplest way to construe these words is to take 'horrentem capillum retro' together, 'the hair bristling at the back part of the head;' then 'sequuntur' is used, as it is in c. 5, 'argentum magis . . . . sequuntur.'

in ipso solo vertice] There is a picture of the style of hair meant in Fabretti's Column of Trajan, from which the subjoined head is taken.



In this case the hair did not fall back at all, as in the style first

tuna Semnonum: centum pagis habitant: magnoque corpore efficitur, ut se Suevorum caput credant.

XL. Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plu-

mentioned, but was gathered into a knot on the crown of the head; but this does not seem to have been a fashion so prevalent as the other. From the passage of Juvenal one would suppose there were sometimes several of these knots on the man's head.

innoxiae] Tacitus means that, although the Suevi are careful of their appearance and deck themselves out, they have no immoral object in doing so. They do not trick themselves out like Roman Lotharios, to win the admiration and love of the fair sex: it has a warlike object, to terrify their enemies.

XXXIX. *Semnones*] The seats of this people probably extended from the Riesengebirge in the South, to Frankfort on the Oder and Potsdam, occupying part of Mark Brandenburg, and the kingdom of Saxony, Silesia, and Anhalt. The quantity of the penultimate syllable is doubtful; Strabo and Ptolemy spelling it with a long and short vowel respectively.

Fides antiquitatis] That is, 'the credibility of the antiquity they claim is supported by the nature of their religious cult.' I suppose he means that the very barbarity of the ceremony is a proof of the antiquity of those who practise it. A rite so awful must have had its origin in a time far removed from the present, and bears on it the stamp of a bygone age,—a remark which might have weight if it were a Roman custom he was describing, for they had been long more or less civilized, but has none when applied to the uncivilized Germans.

in silvam] This is placed by Wilhelm between the Elster and the Spree, in the Finsterwald, or Sonnenwald. In this neighbourhood, between Uebigau and Schlieben, remains of vessels used for sacrificial purposes have been found.

auguriis patrum] As the commentators notice, this clause from 'auguriis' to 'sacrum' forms a hexameter. They have collected at least a dozen similar instances in Tacitus, a dozen warnings to avoid any thing of the kind in composition.

prisca] 'Priscus' generally has the notion of primitive, old-fashioned, attached to it. In this respect it differs from 'antiquus' and 'vetus.' These last again differ in this point, that 'antiquus' is used to express whatever existed before our time; 'vetus,' to denote what has been long in existence. For instance, 'oppidum antiquum' is a town that existed in our forefathers' time; 'oppidum vetus,' a town that has existed a long time back from the present epoch. However, this distinction is not always observed.

minor] Horace used the word in a very similar sense (iii. 6. 5), 'Dis te minorem quod geris imperas;' and (i. 12. 57), 'te minor latum reget aequus orbem.'

corpore] 'Corpus' is used to denote the aggregate association of several bodies. Cf. A. xiii. 27, 'late fusum id corpus (libertorum);' and H. iv. 64, 'rediisse vos in corpus nomenque Germaniae.'

XL. *Langobardos*] This tribe is said to have come originally from Scandinavia, as the Winili, and to have received their name from the length of their beards. Another view, and, in my opinion, a more probable one, is that the word 'bard' is the same as the last syllable of 'halbert,' and that the name is derived from the weapon they carried. In their original locality they occupied the tract called Bar-

rimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium, sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses, et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur: nec quidquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Hertham, id est, Terram matrem, colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur. Est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dica-

dengau, west of the Elbe, between Luneburg and Magdeburg. Subsequently they were removed by Tiberius across the river, near the Semnones, by the river Havel. They revolted from Maroboduus, A.D. 17, to Arminius, and afterwards supported Italicus, the Cheruscan king. In the third and fourth centuries they moved southwards to the Danube, exterminated the Heruli, and in the sixth century settled in Pannonia. In A.D. 568, under Alboin, they crossed the Julian Alps, on the invitation of Narses, and conquered the plains of the North, which have ever since borne their name. Their last king, Desiderius, was defeated by Charlemagne, towards the close of the eighth century.

Reudigni] The Reudigni were probably situated between the duchy of Lauenburg, and the mouth of the Havel.

Aviones] The Aviones were probably in Mecklenburg and Lauenburg.

Anglii] Ptolemy places this people north of the Langobardi, and east of the Angrivarii, extending as far as the Elbe, in the duchy of Magdeburg. They afterwards joined the Saxons in the invasion of England in the fifth century. There is still a district between Sleswig and Flensburg, called Angeln; but whether this name has any connexion with the people in question is doubtful.

Varini &c.] If the Varini were the same as the Warnavi of the writers of the twelfth century, their locality would be the parts about Warnow, on the river Eldene, a tributary of the Elbe. They seem to have also been found subsequently in Thuringia, where the river Werra, and the Weringau may retain traces of their name.

The Eudoses were perhaps in the eastern part of the duchy of Mecklenburg; by others they are placed in Holstein, where Eutin is thought to be a remnant of their name. The Suardones were perhaps on the river Schwartau, near old Lubeck, by Travemunde.

The Nuithones were somewhere in the South-east of Mecklenburg; others place them on the river Nuthe, in Middle Mark.

Hertham] The readings here vary between Hertham, or Ertham, and Nerthum. Grimm in his 'Deutsche Mythologie' prefers Nerthum, on the ground of a deity Niördhr, found in the Edda, a sea-god, I believe, not a goddess at all. But the Gothic 'airtha,' the German 'erde,' and Saxon 'ertha,' all seem to point out the other as the true reading.

insula] This island is generally thought to be Rugen, in the Baltic, full, I believe, of sacred antiquities. But at the beginning of the historical period these rites, the creed, and population are Slavonic. The Anglii were no doubt Teutonic, whatever the other nations whom Tacitus associates with them were. Dr. Latham therefore supposes there were two sacred islands,—Rugen, where the Varini probably, and

tumque in eo vehiculum veste contectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat: mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident.

XLI. Et haec quidem pars Suevorum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur. Propior (ut quo modo paullo

other Slavonic nations worshipped,—and Heligoland, at the mouth of the Elbe, for the Anglii and Teutonic nations. The name of Holy Island, and the use of the word 'oceanus,' although the term may be applied to the Baltic, are both somewhat in favour of this view. 'Oceanus' in this case, of course, is the Northern Ocean. In Rugen there is still a dense wood in one quarter of the island.

castum nemus] The adjective 'castus' is more usually the epithet of a person than a thing. However, the poets use it in the latter way; Horace, for instance (i. 12. 60), "tu parum castis inimica mittes fulmina lucis."

penetrali] This word is connected with 'penitus,' and means the inner recess of a house or temple, where the statue of the deity was placed. Here it is used for the car, and its covering, as the abode of the divinity.

The goddess here is, in Ritter's view, the Isis spoken of in c. 9, the identification being grounded on similarity of attributes. If so, the car would be a boat on wheels probably. In the twelfth century there is mentioned a similar procession amongst the people of the Lower Rhine, in which a boat was pushed along on wheels. At Rome, on the third day before the Nones of March, a boat was offered to Isis at the beginning of the sailing season, the day itself being called Navigium Isidis. Ritter considers the actual name of the goddess to be Hertha, but I do not see this to be necessary. The real name may have been Frigga, or Frea, wife of Wodan, and mother of the gods, and Hertha may simply be the word 'earth,' as the scene of the main influence of that goddess, the Egyptian Isis, Rhea, Ops, and Cybele filling the same place in the classical mythology.

si credere velis, numen] By this it is clear that Tacitus means to imply that the goddess herself underwent ablutions, not the image of the goddess; for in fact there does not seem to have been one. The priests believed, or wished others to believe,—not apparently succeeding in the case of the writer himself,—that the goddess was actually present in the cart. The temple mentioned in this account was no doubt a sacred enclosure or grove, not any actual building, which elsewhere he declares not to have existed.

XLI. *Propior*] Nearer, that is, to the Danube and the Roman provinces along its right bank, Raetia, Vindelicia, &c.

ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danubium sequar) Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis, eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provinciae colonia: passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. In Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclitum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

XLII. Juxta Hermunduros Narisci, ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. Praecipua Marcomanorum

Hermunduri] These people dwelt between the Sudetes mountains and the Roman wall, bounding the Decumates Agri. According to one derivation their name is connected with Her, Ar, 'high,' and 'mund,' and is equivalent to the 'highlanders.' As to their earliest locality there is great doubt, as well as to their reason for leaving it. They were probably a branch of the Suevi, first appearing in the time of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who granted them settlements between the Main and the Danube, in what had formed part of the district occupied by the Marcomani, where Tacitus knows them. According to Wilhelm their original abodes were in Northern Bohemia, while Strabo places them beyond the Elbe. After the fall of Maroboduus, which they helped to effect (A. ii. 63), they took possession of North-western Bohemia, between the sources of the Main and Saale, part of Franconia to Kissingen, and Southern Saxony. Afterwards they were allies of the Marcomani in their contest with Rome. Their name does not appear after this, and they seem to have been comprehended under the general appellation of Suevi.

Raetia] In Raetia Tacitus includes Vindelicia; and the 'colonia' here mentioned is Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), situated some distance from the river Danube.

In Hermunduris Albis oritur] Tacitus probably is hardly correct in this remark. The true source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, a country of which, surrounded as it is by mountains, Tacitus would know scarcely any thing. By the Elbe he probably meant one of its western affluents, the Eger, or Moldau.

notum olim] Tacitus here alludes to the conquests of Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus. Of Tiberius, Velleius Paterculus (ii. 106) says, "classis ab inaudito atque incognito ante mari flumine Albi subvecta," &c. At the time when Tacitus wrote this book the Romans had retired from this part of Germany.

XLII. *Narisci*] The Narisci lay west of the Marcomani, and were separated from them by the Silva Gabreta (Böhmerwald), occupying Upper Bavaria. The last notice of their name occurs in the reign of Antoninus, and a different tribe is subsequently mentioned as occupying the same localities.

Marcomani] The early seats of these men of the Marches, appear to have been in South-west Germany, between the Rhine and Main. Under Maroboduus, about A.D. 7, they crossed the Erzgebirge, and expelled the Keltic Boii, who occupied Bohemia, and established a kingdom along the Danube almost to Ratisbon. This kingdom exciting the jealousy of the Romans, Tiberius was ordered to cross the Danube, and after effecting a junction with Sentius Saturninus, who was to make his way through the Chatti and the

gloria viresque atque ipsa etiam sedes, pulsis olim Boiis, virtute parta. Nec Narisci Quadive degenerant. Eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danubio peragitur Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus: jam et externos patiuntur. Sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia juvantur; nec minus valent.

XLIII. Retro Marsigni, Gothini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt: e quibus Marsigni et Buri sermone cultuque Suevos referunt. Gothinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit, non esse

Hercynian forest, to attack the Marcomani. The attention of the Romans, however, being drawn elsewhere, the scheme failed. Throughout the Pannonian and Dalmatian wars, Maroboduus remained neutral. In the war against the Cherusci, under Arminius, Maroboduus was forced to retire to his own haunts, whence he was afterwards driven out by Catualda, who was in turn expelled by the Hermunduri. Their followers were placed beyond the Danube between the March and the Waag. The great Marcomanic war broke out A.D. 167, and lasted thirteen years. They were defeated near Aquileia by Marcus Aurelius, who pursued them across the Alps, and totally routed them. They disappear from history after the fifth century.

Quadi] The Quadi were settled between the Mons Gabreta, the Sarmatian Mountains, and the Danube, in Moravia and North-western Hungary. They were generally associated with the Marcomani, and joined them in their great war against Aurelius. After the fifth century they were merged in other tribes.

peragitur] 'the front of Germany, so far as that front is formed by the Danube.' But this is an odd expression, and some of the editors read 'praetexitur,' or 'porrigitur.'

externos] Such 'externi' were Catualda (A. ii. 62), and Vannius (A. ii. 63). Cf. also A. xii. 30.

nec minus valent] That is to say, the German kings found the Roman subsidies of money as effectual a means of strengthening their position as the support of the Roman arms. The money they received enabled them to take armies into their pay. One king is mentioned as obtaining this pecuniary help, Chariomerus, king of the Cherusci.

XLIII. *Marsigni, &c.*] The Marsigni probably extended from the Riesengebirge, in Northern Bohemia, to the Oder, occupying part of modern Silesia.

The Gothini were situated near the head-waters of the Marus (March), in Upper Silesia and Moravia.

The district of the Osi lay between the sources of the Oder and the Gran, on the frontiers of Moravia and Hungary.

The Buri were between the Oder and the Vistula, between Cracow and Troppau, in Silesia. They were allies of Trajan in his war against the Dacians, and also of Marcus Aurelius, in the Marcomanic war.

referunt] Cf. c. 20, 'robora parentum liberi referunt.' With a varied construction Juvenal has the same meaning, 'et multum referens de Maecenate supino.'

Gothinos Gallica, &c.] These Gothini may have been a remnant of the great Keltic emigrations eastward,

Germanos; et quod tributa patiuntur: partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt: Gothini, quo magis pudeat, et ferrum effodiunt: omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium jugumque insederunt. Dirimit enim scinditque Sueviam continuum montium jugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt: ex quibus latissime patet Lygiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. Valentissimas nominasse sufficiet Harios, Helveconas, Manimos, Helysios, Naharvalos. Apud Naharvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. Praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu: sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. Ea vis numini: nomen Alcis: nulla simulacra, nullum

which, according to Livy (v. 34), took place in the sixth century, or remains of an originally wide-spread Keltic population displaced by Germans. However this may be, it is, I believe, a fact that the names in the neighbourhood of the Lunawald are Keltic. The Pannonian tongue spoken by the Osi must have been, one would think, Slavonic; at all events, these localities seem to have been Slavonic as far back as they can be traced. Dr. Latham looks on 'Gallica' as equivalent to Gallician, the similarity of sound having caused confusion. The 'Gallica lingua' would then be the Polish of Gallicia, instead of Keltic; however, I do not see the necessity for attributing a gratuitous mistake to Tacitus.

quo magis pudeat] The Gothini were not bound to be ashamed of digging up iron, although this was generally the work of slaves and criminals; but the disgrace lay in this, that although they extracted iron from the earth, they did not convert it into swords or spears to free themselves from their oppressors.

vertices montium] These mountains would be the Erzgebirge, Riesengebirge, Sudetan, &c.

Lygii] These people lived between the Oder and the Vistula, extending from the sources of the latter river to the point near Brimberg, where it turns sharply to the North-east, in part of Gallicia and Western Poland. They first appear as members of the Marcomanic league in their hostilities against the Quadi, taking part in driving out their king Vannius (A. xii. 29). In the third century they appear on the Rhine. It seems not unlikely that the Lygii of Tacitus are the same as the Lekhs, or Poles of later writers. If so, these people enumerated by Tacitus were Slavonic, not Germanic. See Dr. Latham's note on the passage.

Harios, &c.] The Harii were somewhere near Cracow; the Helvecones, near Warsaw; the Manimi, in Posen; the Helysii, in Silesia, near Breslau, their name possibly being preserved in Oels, a place in this neighbourhood; the Naharvali were between the Wartha and the Vistula.

nomen Alcis] Grimm makes Alcis the genitive from Alx: it seems much more likely to be the dative by attraction to 'iis,' supplied from 'ei numini,' as usual in such sentences. Cf. Liv. i. 34, "Puero ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen." The name here given proves nothing as to the nationality of the people, a Germanic root, in Elk, strength,

peregrinae superstitionis vestigium: ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur. Ceterum Harii super vires, quibus enumeratos paullo ante populos antecedunt, truces, insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora: atras ad proelia noctes legunt: ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum: nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur. Trans Lygios Gothones regnantur paullo jam adductius

and a Slavonic in Holcz, a boy, being at once forthcoming. Dr. Latham, however, supplies something in favour of the last hypothesis by remarking that there are associated gods, Lel and Polel, in the Slavonic mythology.

arte ac tempore] This is explained directly afterwards: the art is their practice of colouring their bodies: the time, is the dark night they choose.

Gothones] These people are mentioned under different names, Guttones, Guthones, &c. They seem originally to have occupied the coasts of Prussia, near the banks of the Lower Vistula. They appear under the name of Goths first in the third century, in the vicinity of the Black Sea, and laid waste Thrace and Dacia. They were opposed by Decius, who was totally routed and killed in Maesia, A.D. 251. A few years afterwards they spread eastwards, crossing the Euxine and devastating Bithynia. After roving excursions into Greece, Thrace, and the adjacent parts, they were signally defeated in Macedonia by Claudius, A.D. 269. In A.D. 272, Aurelian ceded Dacia to them. About this time they were separated into two great divisions, Ostro Goths, and Visi Goths. Portions of them, under Constantine II., settled in Maesia, and it was for them that Ulphilas made his translation of the Gospels into Maesogothic. On the invasion of the Huns, A.D. 375, the Ostro Goths were driven in from their Eastern settlements on the Visi Goths; and these last in consequence were allowed to cross the Danube into Maesia; but on quarrelling with their Roman protectors, they defeated and killed Valens, A.D. 378. About A.D. 400, the Visi Goths, under Alaric, poured down on Italy and took Rome. His successor, Ataulph, retired westward, and founded an empire in Southern Gaul, and crossed over into Spain, where the splendid Gothic kingdom lasted 200 years, until finally destroyed by the Saracens. The Ostro Goths, after the overthrow of the Huns, appeared in Pannonia, and their king Theodoric defeated Odoacer, king of the Heruli, and assumed the title of King of Italy; but this kingdom was destroyed half a century after by Narses, the general of Justinian. According to one view the Goths came from Scandinavia, but it seems more likely that they emigrated there at a very early period. There was a kingdom of Gothia long distinct from Sweden Proper, but united with it in the twelfth century.

adductius] This seems a metaphor taken from drawing a bowstring or reins tight. Tacitus uses the word several times in this sense. Cf. A. xiv. 4, "pluribus sermonibus modo familiaritate juvenili Nero, et rursus adductus quasi seria consociaret." Also, H. iii. 7, "quia adductius quam civili bello imperitabat." The word in this meaning seems used by the writers of the silver age chiefly. Tacitus means to imply by this sentence, that however tightly the reins might be drawn, they were never

quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii, et Lemovii: omniumque harum gentium insigne, rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium.

XLIV. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano praeter viros armaque classibus valent: forma navium eo differt, quod utrimque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: nec velis ministrantur, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adjungunt. Solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. Est apud illos et opibus honos: eoque unus imperitat, nullis jam exceptionibus, non precario jure parendi: nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode et quidem servo: quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus. Otiosa porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est.

held so tightly as to restrict entirely the liberty of the subject.

Rugii, et Lemovii] Of these people, the former were probably at first settled on the Baltic coast, the island of Rugen being named from them. After Attila's death they showed themselves on the Danube, in Austria and Upper Hungary. The Lemovii were perhaps near the river Leba, North-west of Dantzic, in Pomerania.

XLIV. *ipso in Oceano*] Tacitus seems to have considered Sweden and the Scandinavian Peninsula as an island. Pliny (iv. 27) certainly did: "qui sinus Codanus vocatur, refertus insulis quarum clarissima Scandinavia est, incompertae magnitudinis." Probably the name of Sweden (Sverige, the kingdom of the Svia) is only a corruption of the word Suiones. Then 'ipso in Oceano' of course means the Baltic.

in ordinem] That is, 'ita ut ordo fiat,' to form a regular tier of oars after the Roman fashion.

nullis jam exceptionibus] This expression marks the contrast between the Suiones and the Lygii and Gothones in the last chapter. There the sovereign power was never so excessive as to endanger the freedom of the members of the state; here there are no limits to the authority of the king.

precario jure parendi] 'Precarium jus' is a privilege only granted to a person's entreaty, as a favour, which cannot be claimed as a strict right. Tacitus often uses the word. Cf. H. i. 52, and A. i. 42. One would rather have expected 'imperitandi' or a similar word here, than 'parendi;' however, it comes to very much the same thing,—'the claim of the king on the subject for his obedience.'

enimvero &c.] This explains why the arms are kept under the custody of a slave. The previous clause, 'quia subitos,' &c., gives the reason for their being kept locked up.

regia utilitas est] Tacitus seems to have had no conception of a king other than of the despotic oriental

XLV. Trans Suionas aliud mare pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides: quod extremus cadentis jam Solis fulgor in ortus edurat, adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet. Sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque deorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque (et fama vera) tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Aestiorum gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicae propior. Matrem deum venerantur:

type. Even the worst of his own emperors, cloaking their tyranny under a guise, however thin, of constitutionalism, would hardly realize his idea of 'rex.' Cf. A. xvi. 23, and H. v. 8.

XLV. *aliud mare*] By this Tacitus means the North Sea, on the Western coast of Norway, stretching up to the Arctic Ocean. He describes this sea, beyond the Shetland Islands, in which Thule was situated, in similar terms in the Agricola (c. 10). For his subsequent remarks about the sun cf. Agricola, c. 12.

emergentis] This has nothing to do with the belief prevalent amongst the ancients, that when the sun sets in the West, his descent into the Ocean is attended with hissings such as Juvenal mentions, xiv. 280, 'Audiet Herculeo,' &c., and Statius, Syl. ii. 7. 25,

"Quae pronos Hyperionis meatus
Summis Oceani vides in undis
Stridoremque rotae cadentis audis."

Tacitus is not speaking of the extreme West, but of the North, bending towards the East: at least this seems to be his view from what he says below, 'occidentis insulis,' &c.

formasque deorum] The commentators discuss the question who these gods were. I should not suppose that any particular gods are meant. Possibly the phenomena attending the Aurora Borealis were the origin of the whole story.

Illuc usque . . . natura] I hardly think any of the explanations of this passage satisfactory: at the same time I can suggest nothing better than that of Lipsius, Ritter, and others, who point off 'et fama vera,' and make it opposed to 'persuasio adjicit,' as introducing an undoubted fact: 'so far only, and the report is certainly true (whatever the credibility of the former vague reports), nature reaches.' Tacitus means that the habitable portion of the earth ends there, just as in Agricola 33, he says, "nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse."

Aestiorum gentes] These people—the men of the East—occupied the coast of Eastern Prussia and Courland: the mention of the amber trade decides this. By the 'mare Suevicum,' along which they extended, Tacitus may, as Dr. Latham remarks, mean the sea east of Sweden, the word 'Suevicus' being the adjective from Suiones, as well as from Suevi, although there is no absolute necessity to suppose this.

ritus] This 'ritus' is explained directly after to be the worship of Mother Earth, also prevalent amongst the Suevi.

lingua Britannicae propior] This remark is ingeniously explained by Dr. Latham as follows: these people, inhabitants of Prussia, would speak a language termed Pryttisce in its German, or Prutskaja in its Slavonic form. These are respectively like Bryttisce and Britskaja, the German and Slavonic designation of British;

insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omniumque tutela: securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius, quam pro solita Germanorum inertia, laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur; ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi Glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. Nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cetera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen: ipsis in nullo usu; rude

and the form Borussi for the Prussians connects them with the British more easily. The real language of these people would be Lithuanic.

formas aprorum] These were no doubt small images of boars, worn round the person as amulets or charms.

omniumque tutela] This use of the genitive is explained by a phrase in c. 46, "nec infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum connexu contegantur." The phrase therefore means protection against every thing, and there is no need to read 'omni,' on the authority of one manuscript.

securum] This of course does not mean 'secure' in our sense of the word, (that would be 'tutus,') but free from apprehension. Cf. Horace i. 26, "Quis sub Arcto Rex gelidae metuatur orae, Quid Tiridatem terreat, unice Securus." Cf. also H. iii. 41, "apud avidos periculorum et dedecoris securos:" careless, that is, of any disgrace that might follow. Tutus means 'safe from harm;' which is not the same thing as being free from the apprehension of harm, so that a man may very well be 'tutus,' and not 'securus,' and vice versa.

laborant] This transitive use of the word is poetical: it occurs in Horace, Ep. 5. 60, "Quale non perfectius meae laborarint manus." Propertius has the same construction, "Noctibus hibernis castrensia pensa laboro," and Quinctilian also uses it.

quaeve ratio gignat] There is another reading, 'gignit,' and between the meanings of the two there is a difference. The indicative asserts that the cause of the production of amber well known to others, is unknown to the barbarians; the subjunctive states that the barbarians have never inquired into the cause, whatever it may be, of its production. There can here be no doubt that 'gignat' is the true reading.

luxuria nostra] Amber was used in various ways by the Romans for ornamenting drinking-cups (Juv. v. 38, 'Heliadum crustas,' &c.), for bracelets and necklaces. Balls of amber were also carried by the Roman ladies in their hands, for the sake of the agreeable perfume given out by it when rubbed. Cf. Mart. v. 37, and iii. 65. There is an epigram of the same writer (iv. 59), on the fact mentioned below of insects being enclosed in the amber.

This amber is really a resinous exudation from beds of lignite produced underground, and chiefly thrown up by the sea between Koningsberg and Memel. It is generally found in small pieces, but sometimes in large masses of fifteen or sixteen pounds. It consists of resins, a volatile oil, and a bituminous body, the chief ingredient being carbon. It is found also on the Eastern coast of England and Sicily. It reached Rome by an overland route, being brought by the inhabitants of the Baltic coast into Pan-

legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum esse intelligas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. Fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque, sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim; quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia, in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. Si naturam succini admoto igne tentes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem: mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit. Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. Cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant. Hic Sueviae finis.

XLVI. Peucinorum, Venetorumque, et Fennorum

nonia to Carnuntum on the Danube, and thence conveyed by the Veneti to the shores of the Adriatic.

quae vicini solis &c.] The relative here has no antecedent to refer to except 'nemora lucosque.' Of course Tacitus means it to refer to the gums which exude from them. These gums are drawn out by the action of the sun, near to them when he sinks into the West. They are carried by the ocean currents to the opposite shores, the far North-eastern coasts.

labuntur] Ernesti reads 'labantur,' in which case, putting a comma only after 'crediderim,' the passage may be translated 'so I should be inclined to believe, that in the islands and lands of the West there are certain bodies which fall,' &c.

Sitonum] Probably they dwelt north of the Suiones in modern Queenland. There is a curious explanation of the fact here mentioned of a woman's rule over these people, quoted in Dr. Latham's Germania. The native name of the Finns of Finland is Qvaen; the Swedish name for woman is 'quinna.' Some misinterpretation of these words has given rise to the notion of Tacitus that a queen rules the Sitones.

sed etiam a servitute] Elsewhere slaves, however degraded as in Oriental countries, are still ruled by men, and are not therefore sunk so low as these Sitones, who are ruled by a woman. Yet in the Agricola he mentions without any remark of astonishment, that the British are ruled by kings and queens respectively. Perhaps Tacitus is only reproducing the sentiments of the German sources whence he derived his information.

XLVI. *Peucini*] These people were allies of Philip and Perseus, kings of Macedonia, and thus brought into contact with the Romans. Some of the classical authors make them Germans, others Gauls, and it does not seem clear which they were. When first settled in Sarmatia, their probable locality lay between the Theiss and the March. Spreading towards the Lower Danube, a portion of them took possession of the island of Peuce, enclosed between two of the mouths

nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito: quanquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede, ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt: sordes omnium ac torpor procerum; connubiis mixtis, nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Veneti multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos fingunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent; quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitui pelles: cubile humus: sola in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. Idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit. Passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. Nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium, quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur: huc redeunt juvenes; hoc senum receptaculum. Sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare. Securi adversus homines,

of the Danube. South of that river they made inroads into Thrace, and were driven across the river again by Crassus. Later writers place them between the Tyras (Dniester) and Borysthenes (Dnieper). They were distinguished from their neighbours by their height, pride, and bravery (Plut. Paul. Aemil. 4).

Veneti &c.] The Veneti were east of the Vistula along the Sinus Veneticus, or gulf of Dantzic, in East Prussia and Courland. They were a Lithuanic or Slavonian people; and Wends is still the name by which the Slavonians are known to the Germans. Afterwards they seem to have been associated with the Huns and Goths on the Danube.

The Fenni were probably the Finns of Finland. This word is of German origin, and not the term whereby the Finns know themselves. As Dr. Latham observes, this is some proof that the Roman writers derived their information about the Baltic peoples through German, not native channels.

torpor procerum] That is to say, all are filthily dirty; but the nobles enjoy the superior privilege of idleness besides: just as he says in c. 15, 'nihil agens, ipsi habent.' They can afford to transfer to others the care of their households, and do nothing themselves.

connubiis mixtis] One might think 'mixti' the true reading here, for this is a favourite turn with Tacitus. Cf. A. xi. 24; xiii. 34; and H. ii. 80.

domos fingunt] The nomade life of the Sarmatae is described by Horace (iii. 24. 10); and as the Veneti are contrasted with them, in having settled habitations, one can scarcely help thinking 'figunt' a better word here than 'fingunt,' the reading of the manuscripts.

ingemere agris] This is a very

securi adversus deos, rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. Cetera jam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.

poetical use of the word 'ingemere.' Cf. Lucret. v. 210:

"Ni vis humana resistat
Vitai causa, valido consueta bidenti
Ingemere."

securi adversus deos] The Fenni live under no apprehension of the gods. Possessing nothing, they have nothing to lose; and the pleasure or displeasure of the gods is all one to them.

assecuti sunt, ut .... esset] This 'esset' ought undoubtedly to be 'sit.' 'Assecuti sunt' is not a simple past, but a perfect in its proper use, 'they have obtained.'

in medium relinquam] Cicero has 'in medio relinquere' (Pro Cluent. 20); also Sallust (Catiline 19). Tacitus, however, is fond of using the accusative after the preposition, as A. xiii. 41, 'aliaque in eandem formam decernuntur.' Here it is used like 'in ordinem,' in c. 44, and is equivalent to 'relinquam ita ut medium sit,' so as to be a neutral assertion, neither affirmed nor denied.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE, in the main, followed the text of Ritter (Cantabrigiae et Londini, 1848); still there are variations tolerably numerous whenever he introduces conjectural readings, unnecessarily, as I think, or too remote from the manuscripts. These variations are appended.

It may be useful to give a brief account of the various expeditions against Britain undertaken by the Romans; as there are allusions to most of them in the text.

In B.C. 55, towards the close of summer (Caes. iv. 20), Julius Caesar landed in Britain.

B.C. 54. Caesar landed again in the island, and penetrated about as far as Hertfordshire (Caes. v. 5—23).

After his evacuation of the island, Britain was neglected under the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius. Caligula formed a design of entering Britain, but it ended in nothing. A son of Cynobellin, a British chief, expelled by his father, betook himself to the emperor. Caligula, harbouring the fugitive, and receiving him under his protection, wrote boastful despatches to the Senate at Rome, professing to have conquered the entire country.

A.D. 43. At the instigation of Bericus, a petty king of Britain, who had been expelled from his home in consequence of party contests, Claudius was induced to send Aulus Plautius into Britain. This general conquered Caractacus and Togodumnus. During his command, Claudius himself crossed over

to the island, and defeated the Britons near the Thames. The Southern part of the country was first reduced, and Vespasian, the future emperor, then conquered the South-western district from Hampshire to Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight.

A.D. 49. Ostorius Scapula succeeded A. Plautius about this date. He secured the Roman Province by erecting a line of forts extending from the Severn to the Avon, or Nen. He put down the Iceni, and marched into Shropshire and North Wales, but was recalled by the revolt of the Brigantes. He made Camulodunum the head-quarters of Roman power. Marching against the Silures, he took Caractacus prisoner. The war however continued, and Ostorius, worn out with harass and fatigue, died. Avitus Didius Gallus succeeded him. He defeated the Silures, but relapsed into inactivity. This general took part in the civil war between Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, and her husband, aiding the Queen.

A.D. 58. Veranius followed, but died within the year.

A.D. 59. Suetonius Paulinus succeeded to the command, and began to reduce Mona. During his absence on this campaign, the Iceni and Trinobantes under Boudicea rose in arms to avenge the insults they had received from the Romans. The insurgents stormed Camulodunum, and defeated Petilius Cerialis. Paulinus returned hastily, and sacrificing Londinium and Verulamium, entirely defeated Boudicea.

A.D. 62. Petronius Turpilianus followed, who did not push the Roman conquests further.

A.D. 64. Trebellius Maximus was the next governor. In consequence of a feud with Roscius Caelius, lieutenant of the Twentieth Legion, he threw up his command.

A.D. 69. Vettius Bolanus was next sent. During his rule a revolt of the Brigantes broke out.

A.D. 71. Petilius Cerialis succeeded. Under him Agricola commanded the Twentieth Legion. Together they reduced a large part of the country of the Brigantes. He was soon recalled, and Julius Frontinus appointed, under whom the Ordovices and Silures were conquered.

A.D. 78. Agricola took the command in Britain, and in his first year reduced the Ordovices and the Island of Mona.

A.D. 79. (Altera aestate.) Agricola alarmed the enemy by sudden incursions; and again endeavoured to exhibit to them the sweets of peace.

A.D. 80. (Tertius annus.) He marched through unknown tribes as far as the Estuary of the Tay.

A.D. 81. (Quarta aestas.) Agricola spent this year in consolidating his previous conquests, and strengthening the Isthmus between Clota and Bodotria with garrisons.

A.D. 82. (Quinto expeditionum anno.) He crossed the Isthmus, and, turning westwards, conquered the country lying near Dumbarton, and looking towards Ireland.

A.D. 83. (Æstate qua sextum officii annum inchoabat.) He again crossed the Isthmus, and turning eastwards, marched along the coast, accompanied by his fleet.

A.D. 84. (Initio aestatis.) Agricola defeats Calgacus at the Grampian Hills. At the close of this year (exacta aestate) he sends a fleet to sail round the North of Britain, and reduces the Orkneys.

A.D. 85. Agricola recalled.

LIFE OF AGRICOLA.

Agricola born probably A.D. 37.

Visits Britain, A.D. 59.

Returns to Rome, and marries Domitia Decidiana, A.D. 62.

A son born, who dies. (?)

Made Quaestor of Asia, and has a daughter born, A.D. 63.

Made Tribune, A.D. 65.

Made Praetor under Nero, A.D. 67.

Appointed by Galba to examine the state of the offerings in the temples, A.D. 68. (?)

Loses his mother, and embraces the cause of Vespasian, A.D. 69.

Appointed to the command of the Twentieth Legion, A.D. 70.

Enrolled amongst the Patricians, A.D. 73.

Made Praefect of Aquitania, A.D. 74.

Made Consul, A.D. 77.

Appointed to the command of Britain, A.D. 78.

Recalled from Britain, A.D. 85.
Dies, A.D. 93.

The chief passages on the subject of Britain and its customs are,—

I. CAESAR, iv. 33.
v. 12—14.
II. STRABO, iv. 5.
III. POMPONIUS MELA, iii. 6.
IV. PLINIUS, iv. 30.
V. TACITUS, Agricola, 10—12.
Annales xii. 31. 40.
xiv. 29—39.

CAESAR.

(Book IV., c. 33.)

In battle the Britons use their war-chariots in the following way. First, they drive about here and there, hurling darts, and generally throwing the ranks into confusion, in consequence of the alarm produced by the horses, and the rattle of the wheels. When they have forced their way amongst the squadrons of horsemen, they leap down from their chariots and fight on foot. Meanwhile, the drivers retire from the battle, and take up such a position that the fighters in case of distress can easily retreat to them. In this way they secure the quick movement of cavalry, and the solidity of infantry. By daily practice and exercise they arrive at such a pitch of excellence that even on sloping and precipitous ground they can keep up their horses at speed, manage them, turn them short, run along the pole, stand on the yoke, and from that position make their way rapidly into the chariots.

(Book V., c. 12—14.)

The interior of Britain is occupied by inhabitants born (so radition declares) in the island; the sea-coast by people who

crossed from Belgium for the sake of war and booty, and retained, after settling in the country, the names of their mother states. The population is dense, and their buildings, in the main like those of Gaul, are numerous. They possess much cattle. For money, they use brass or iron blocks of ascertained weight. Tin is found in abundance in the midland districts; in those near the sea iron is obtained, but only in small quantities. Brass they procure from abroad. There is timber of all kinds, except beech and fir. Hares, hens, and geese they scruple to eat, but they breed them for amusement and pastime. The climate is milder than in Gaul, the frosts being less intense. The island is triangular in shape, one side lying opposite to Gaul. Of this side, one angle in Kent, where the Gallic ships generally touch, faces the East, the lower one the South; the whole length being about 500 miles. Another side inclines towards Spain and the West. On this side lies Ireland, supposed to be less than half the size of Britain; but about as far from that island as that island itself is from Gaul. Midway in this passage is Mona. . . . The nights are shorter than on the Continent. The length of the second side is 700 miles. The third side faces the North, having no land opposite to it. The angle of this side is in the direction of Germany. Its length is computed at about 800 miles. Thus the island is 2000 miles round. The inhabitants of Kent are the most civilized, and nearly resemble the Gauls in their customs. Few of the people of the interior sow corn; they live on milk and flesh, and dress in skins. All the Britons stain themselves blue with woad, thus presenting a horrifying aspect in battle. They wear their hair long. They shave the whole body except the head and upper lip. Parties of ten and twelve have wives in common; the children are considered to belong to those to whom the women were first wedded.

POMPONIUS MELA.

(Book III., c. 6.)

Before long, fuller and more authentic accounts of Britain and its inhabitants will be given to the public; for Claudius is opening to us an island that has so long been closed against us.

That illustrious emperor, long anxious to attest by the results of war the veracity of his descriptions of this country, will soon convey in triumphal procession the visible proofs of his truthfulness. According to our present information, Britain lies between the North and the West, facing the mouths of the Rhine; its coast lines forming an obtuse angle in that direction. It then slopes away, one side lying opposite Gaul, the other Germany. Again, closed in, as it were, behind by an uninterrupted line of even coast, forming angles at the extremities of the other two sides, it assumes a triangular shape, very much resembling Sicily in form; it is flat, large, adapted rather to the support of cattle than men; it is full of woods, lakes, and huge rivers, whose waters alternately flow into the sea, and retire from it. In some of these, pearls and precious stones are found. The various tribes, under the rule of kings, occupy the island; but they are all uncivilized, and the further they are removed from the mainland of Europe, the more they are destitute of any wealth except cattle and lands. They stain their bodies with woad, either because they like the look of it, or for other reasons. They are continually at war one with the other, from their eagerness to extend their rule and possessions. In battle they not only employ cavalry and infantry, but chariots drawn by two horses; their own arms resembling those of the Gauls. These chariots, whose axle-trees are fitted with scythes, are called 'covini.'

The following are the variations from Ritter's text. In this table, R denotes Ritter's reading; those in the second column are the readings retained in this edition.

C. IV.	iisque virtutibus	R.	iisque ipsis &c.
	Caii	R.	Gaii
	habuerit	R.	habuit
C. VI.	medio rationis	R.	moderationis
	sensisset	R.	senserit.
C. VII.	Intemelios . . . pars	R.	Intemelium . . . urbs
	admodum juvene	R.	juvene admodum
C. IX.	dignitatis	R.	dignitati

C. IX.	Integritatem . . . fuerit	R.	These words in brackets.
C. XI.	Iberos	R.	Hiberos
C. XII.	tribusque	R.	tribusve
	ita dum singuli	R.	ita singuli
	sueta, patiens	R.	sueta, arborum patiens
C. XIV.	Veranius	R.	Quintus Veranius
C. XV.	alterius manus centuriones	R.	'manus' omitted.
	virtutes	R.	virtutem
C. XVII.	et cum Cerialis . . . quoque	R.	et Cerealis obruisset ** sustinuitque . . .
C. XIX.	ludere	R.	colludere
	a proximis hibernis	R.	proximae hibernis
C. XX.	intolerantia	R.	tolerantia
	curaque ut	R.	curaque habitae ut
C. XXV.	hostilis exercitus	R.	hostili exercitu
	oppugnare ultro	R.	'oppugnasse ultro' in brackets.
C. XXVII.	rati	R.	superati
C. XXVIII.	hac atque illac rapti	R.	ob aquam atque utensilia separati
C. XXX.	atque . . magnifico est	R.	These words in brackets.
C. XXXIII.	ut	R.	utque
C. XXXIV.	novissimae res et &c.	R.	novissimi, et &c.
C. XXXVI.	foedare	R.	fodere
	connisae	R.	connixae
	fugere covinarii	R.	These words in brackets.
	minimeque equestris ea	R.	minimeque equestris jam
	cum aegre diu stantes	R.	cum e gradu aut stantes
C. XXXVII.	accurrerant	R.	accucurrerant
	collecti, primos sequentium, incautos &c.	R.	inde primos sequentium, incautos collecti et &c.
C. XLI.	eorum	R.	eorum * * *
C. XLIII.	comperti adfirmare	R.	comperti quodve adfirmare &c.
C. XLIV.	quarto	R.	tertio
	quod	R.	quondam
C. XLV.	sententia	R.	sententia *
C. XLVI.	formamque	R.	faciemque

GNAEI JULII AGRICOLAE VITA.

I. Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quanquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium, parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores, ut agere digna memoratu pronum, magisque in aperto erat; ita celeberrimus quis-

I. *incuriosa suorum aetas*] 'Incuriosus' is a favourite word of Tacitus (cf. A. ii. 88; iv. 32; xv. 31. H. i. 49), not found in the Augustan writers, but common in his contemporaries. The commentators compare such passages as Dialog. de Orat. 18, "Vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse;" and A. ii. 88, "dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi." But I do not see much connexion between such passages and the present. Tacitus does not appear to say that great men have not been celebrated because the age they lived in was envious of them; one would suppose such a feeling to exist as much at one time as another, and not in the age of Tacitus especially. I rather think a parallel remark is conveyed in Juvenal's description of his own day (x. 77), "ex quo suffragia nulli vendimus, effudit curas;" and Tacitus means that the age has grown careless of all that appertains to its own times. This would be a natural result of the Imperial rule.

vicit ac supergressa est] The first word merely gives the idea of overcoming, the second adds the notion of mounting over the body of the prostrate enemy.

commune, &c.] 'equally shared by small and great states.' 'Communis' is that which belongs to the 'munus,' or duty of many; 'vulgaris' is that which exists amongst the 'vulgus,' and thence expresses what is generally prevalent.

priores] By this word Tacitus designates those who lived while there was still a constitutional government at Rome, under the Republic. Cf. A. iii. 55, xi. 24, and H. i. 1.

pronum, magisque in aperto erat] 'Pronus' is used for any thing sloping downwards, and it represents the facility of a down-hill course. Cf. c. 33, 'omniaque prona victoribus.' 'In aperto esse' occurs in Sallust (Jug. 5) to denote what is disclosed to view clearly, "pauca supra repetam quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint." This however is certainly not the

que ingenio, ad prodendam virtutis memoriam, sine gratia aut ambitione, bonae tantum conscientiae pretio, ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare, fiduciam potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt: nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes iisdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam

meaning of Tacitus here or elsewhere. Wherever he uses the expression (cf. Agric. 33, and H. iii. 56), it implies the opposite of 'artus,' or 'impeditus,' 'not pent in by obstacles;' being a metaphor from open ground, where one's movements are not hampered by want of space.

sine gratia aut ambitione] The writers alluded to showed no partiality towards the subjects of their narrative, and made no attempt to gain favour with their readers. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. v. 12.

plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare] The regular construction here would be 'ipsorum,' or 'ipsos;' but the 'ipsi' is attracted to 'arbitrati sunt.' A stranger construction still occurs in Sallust (Jug. 18), "Passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus." In fact, 'ipse' or 'ipsi sibi' is almost used like a single word. There is a similar trajection to the one here in Liv. iv. 44, "causa ipse pro se dicta quindecim milibus aeris damnatur." 'Plerique' is generally used by other writers in the sense of 'most' (Caesar vi. 14, and B. Civ. iii. 29). Tacitus uses it for 'many.' Cf. A. iv. 9, "plerisque additis ut ferme amat posterior adulatio," also H. i. 86.

Rutilio et Scauro] Rutilius and Scaurus are mentioned as forming one instance of what he means; consequently 'et' is used and not the disjunctive 'aut.'

P. Rutilius Rufus was a military tribune under Scipio in the Numantine war, and Consul, B.C. 105. From having repressed the extortion of the 'publicani' whilst legatus to Q. Mucius Scaevola in Asia, B.C. 95, he incurred the hatred of the knights, who at that time not only farmed the revenue, but acted as 'judices' in criminal trials. On his return he was accused 'de repetundis' and banished. Although recalled by Sulla, he refused to return, making Smyrna his residence. He wrote an autobiography in five books or more, and a History of Rome in Greek, containing an account of the Numantine war, in which he was personally concerned.

M. Aemilius Scaurus was also probably engaged in the Numantine war. He was one of the leading men at Rome when Adherbal came to ask help against Jugurtha. He was Consul in B.C. 115, and legatus to L. Calpurnius Bestia in the Jugurthine war. In B.C. 107, he was again Consul, and he and Rutilius mutually accused each other of bribery. He wrote three books on his own life, a work mentioned by Cicero (Brut. 29), "hujus et orationes sunt et tres ad L. Fufidium libri scripti de vita ipsius acta sane utiles quos nemo legit."

At nunc . . . tempora] This is a very uncertain passage as regards the meaning, for it is difficult to fix the reading. As the words stand, 'nunc' seems used by Tacitus, in opposition to the olden times when it was usual to write histories of illustrious men, and not to denote the exact date of the period when he wrote the book; referring rather to the general state of things in Domitian's reign. Then 'fuit' is put for 'fuisset:' just as in A. i. 35, Tacitus says, "ferrum a latere deripuit, elatumque deferebat in pectus

defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit: quam non petissem, incursaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

II. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent,

ni proximi prensam dextram vi attinuissent:" and there are many other passages of the same sort. Cf. A. i. 63; xi. 34. H. i. 64. The general sense will be as follows: 'As things are in our day, I must have solicited the permission of Domitian; this I should not have been inclined to do, as I was about to treat of times so cruel and hostile to all displays of excellencies, as the mere touching on such topics as I must have embraced in Agricola's life, would have aroused the anger of Domitian.' At the same time, this use of the indicative for the conjunctive, unless followed by 'ni' or 'nisi,' is suspicious; and one might be inclined to adopt another reading found, 'ni cursaturus tam saeva,' &c., unless there were serious objections to that reading too on other grounds.

defuncti hominis] The proper meaning of 'defungi' is to complete one's duty thoroughly, as "neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis," Cic. ad Fam. x. 24. It is used with 'vita,' in the sense of completing one's life. Cf. Virg. Georg. iv. 475, "defunctaque corpora vita Magnanimum heroum." It is also used with 'morte,' with the same meaning ultimately, although it is arrived at in a different way; as in Suetonius (Jul. Caesar, ad fin.) "neque quisquam sua morte defunctus est," 'got over the act of dying.' The absolute use of 'defunctus' for 'dead,' seems chiefly, if not entirely, a later usage, found in Tacitus, Suetonius, and their contemporaries and successors.

II. *Aruleno Rustico*] Rusticus was a friend of Paetus Thrasea. He was tribune of the plebs, A.D. 66, and in that capacity, offered to put his veto on the Senatus consultum, by which Thrasea was condemned to death. He was praetor in the Vitellian war, and put to death by Domitian for writing a panegyric on Thrasea.

Paetus Thrasea] Thrasea was a Stoic, a great admirer of Cato Uticensis. He is first mentioned, A.D. 57, as supporting the Cilicians in their charge against Cossutianus Capito, their late governor. He first provoked the anger of the court by speaking against a Senatus consultum, allowing the Syracusans to exceed the usual limits in gladiatorial displays. In A.D. 59, on the death of Agrippina, when honours were voted to Nero, Thrasea abruptly left the Senate-house. Some years afterwards he was accused by Cossutianus and Eprius Marcellus, and condemned to death, A.D. 66.

Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius] The former of these was a native of Baetica, in Spain, and subsequently Quaestor there. He was accused, under Domitian, of taking no part in public affairs (cf. H. i. 2, 'omissi honores') and of writing the life of Helvidius Priscus, at the request of his wife Fannia. Helvidius was a Stoic philosopher, and when Quaestor married a daughter of Paetus Thrasea. He followed in the steps of his father-in-law; and when Thrasea was put to death he was banished. He remained at Apollonia in Macedonia until the death of Nero. He was recalled by Galba, and brought Eprius Marcellus, his father-in-law's accuser, to trial. On Vespasian's accession, Helvidius Priscus treated the emperor with great disrespect, and was banished a second time, and executed by order of Vespasian.

The events here mentioned took place in Domitian's reign, A.D. 93,

capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, et libertatem senatus, et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exsilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum: et sicut vetus aetas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique

or 94. Agricola died A.D. 93, and Tacitus remarks in c. 45, that he was lost to himself and his wife four years before. Tacitus must therefore have been absent from Rome for some years about this time, and uses the word 'legimus' probably because he was only aware of these events from the notices he may have read of them in the newspapers, or 'acta diurna.'

triumviris] The Triumviri Capitales were regular magistrates, first appointed about B.C. 292, whose functions in many respects were the same as the old 'quaestores parricidii,' or public accusers, and the *οἱ ἕνδεκα* at Athens. They inquired into all capital crimes, enforced state fines, supervised prisons, and carried out the sentence of the law on criminals.

in comitio ac foro] The Comitium was a part of the Roman Forum, forming its eastern and narrowest end, and elevated above it by steps ('gradus comitii'): the Rostra being in the centre of the line dividing the two parts. The Comitium was originally the scene of the patrician elections and assemblies; the Forum being appropriated to the 'plebs.' At the Eastern point of it was the tribunal, where justice used to be administered. It seems to have been the spot where criminals were punished (cf. Suet. Dom. 8. Liv. xxii. 57); and therefore the book was burned there for the sake of disgracing it still more deeply, the burning in the Forum being only to give the proceeding publicity.

expulsis . . . professoribus] This event appears to have occurred about A.D. 95. Cf. Suet. Domit. 10; Junius Rusticus, &c.

etiam . . audiendi] There is another reading here, 'et:' in which case it is equivalent to 'etiam.' It is so used, A. i. 4; vi. 22; xv. 73. 'Et . . . que' is apparently not used by Tacitus in a distributive sense. He has 'que . . . et' frequently. Cf. H. iii. 63, "seque et liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset." A. i. 61, "ut occulta saltuum scrutaretur, pontesque et aggeres . . . imponeret." This is said by Orelli, I believe, to be the usage of Livy and Tacitus rather than of Cicero. 'Et . . . que' is found in Cicero, Tusc. iii. 3, "At et morbi perniciosiores pluresque sunt, animi quam corporis." Also cf. Liv. iv. 2, "id et singulis universisque semper honori fuisse." Other writers have it, but it is not, I think, to be imitated. 'Et . . . et,' 'que . . . ac,' or 'atque,' are all common forms; 'que . . . que' is rarer, but is found A. ii. 3, 'seque regnumque.' Cf. Sall. Jug. 21, 'ita seque illisque dignum fore;' and Cat. 9; 'seque rempublicamque curabant.' The commonest use of it is in enumerations with the pronoun 'qui:' for instance, "Captivi, quique Cam-

commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

III. Nunc demum redit animus; et quanquam, primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu, Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem imperii Nerva Trajanus,

panorum quique Hannibalis militum erant Romam missi" (Liv. xxiv. 19), and "omnes quique Romae, quique in exercitu erant in contumeliam acceperunt" (Liv. xxii. 26). With the poets it is common enough.

III. *Nunc demum*] The 'nunc' here does not refer to exactly the same time as the 'nunc' in the first chapter, in the sentence 'at nunc' &c. That referred to the historian's age as compared with the old times, the republican period; this refers to the historian's present date, compared with the past epoques in his career; i. e. now at last, after the death of the tyrant Domitian, and the accession of Nerva and Trajan. 'Demum' is supposed to be connected with τῆμος, itself perhaps connected with ἦμαρ, or αὐτῆμαρ.

redit] The present tense here has its proper meaning; 'our minds are only just beginning to recover.' The reason of this slowness of recovery is explained in the next sentence.

Nerva Caesar] This seems to furnish a clue to the date of the Agricola. Nerva was deified immediately after his death, which took place at the end of January, A.D. 98. In October, A.D. 97, he adopted Trajan, and associated him in power with himself, under the title of Imperator, and with the Tribunitia potestas. In mentioning Nerva here, Tacitus does not call him 'divus' (cf. H. i. 1, "Principatum divi Nervae et imperium Trajani senectuti seposui"). The inference is that Nerva was not yet dead, and therefore the book must have been written between October, A.D. 97, and January 27th, A.D. 98. Orellius objects that Nerva, if living, ought to have been mentioned with Trajan in c. 44. But the objection does not seem worth much; for Trajan is mentioned apparently to point out Agricola's sagacity in foreseeing his future elevation; and if so, of course there was no room for any mention of Nerva.

principatum] This is the term generally used to express the rule of the Roman emperors. The title by which the sovereign of the world was mainly addressed is 'princeps,' or 'princeps senatus,' an expression conveying the idea of civil pre-eminence. It was a title originally given to the first of the living 'censorii,' men who had borne the office of Censor, and conveyed the privilege of speaking first in the debates of the Senate. It was therefore a constitutional title, and peculiarly acceptable to the Romans, who clung to the form of liberty when the reality had passed away. Tacitus here uses the word with great fitness, as Nerva was not a warlike prince. The Roman emperors were also, of course, generalissimos of the entire armies of the empire, but Trajan's rule is called 'imperium,' not by reason of the general fact here mentioned, but because at this time he was really in actual command of the legions on the Rhine.

Nerva Trajanus] The man's name was originally Marcus Ulpius Trajanus. He was adopted by Marcus Cocceius Nerva. As a rule, under the Republic, if a man passed from one 'gens' to another, he would assume the 'praenomen,' 'nomen,'

nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit: natura tamen infirmitatis humanae, tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito exstinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid si, per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt? Pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum, sed etiam nostri superstites sumus; exemtis e media vita tot annis, quibus juvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus: non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. Hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri

and 'cognomen' of his adopter, and add his own gentile name with the termination changed into 'anus.' For instance, Caius Octavius Rufus, on being adopted by Caius Julius Caesar, was called Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus, the Octavia gens being that to which he belonged. But this rule was often violated, and under the Empire many irregularities occurred. For instance, when Caius Plinius Secundus adopted his nephew Caecilius, his name was Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, instead of Caius Plinius Secundus Caecilianus, and here Trajanus is called Nerva Trajanus irregularly.

adsumpserit] This means that public security has been the subject of hope and prayers before, but now for the first time begins to feel confidence and assurance in the fulfilment of its wishes. The verb here is joined to two clauses, being strictly appropriate only to the latter; for 'adsumere votum' would be unintelligible. For similar instances of zeugma, see c. 45, "nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit." Cf. also A. i. 50, and ii. 58. H. iii. 42.

per quindecim annos] The fifteen years, that is, of Domitian's reign.

promptissimus] This word is derived from 'promo,' and denotes a person forward to display energy in any way on occasion; a ready man.

juvenes . . . senes] In which of these did Tacitus rank himself? Aulus Gellius remarks, that up to the forty-sixth year of his life a man was 'junior;' beyond that age 'senior.' As Tacitus was born about A.D. 54, and writing this book A.D. 97—98, he would be just within the limits of the former class.

prioris servitutis] He alludes here no doubt to the Histories, and the records of Domitian's tyranny to be included in them.

composuisse] It seems to me that Tacitus uses this tense, not because he already had composed the records he alludes to; for, besides other reasons, the word 'interim' appears to preclude this; but because he looks forward to the time when he will be gratified by the reflection of having, in his earlier days, composed a lasting

mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

IV. Gnaeus Julius Agricola, veteri et inlustri Forojuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesaris habuit: quae equestris nobilitas est: pater Julius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque virtutibus iram Caii Caesaris meritus. Namque Marcum Silanum accusare jussus, et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. Mater Julia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis: in hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus,

historic work. It is like Virgil's phrase, 'olim et haec meminisse juvabit.' Compare also Livy's remark in his preface, 'Juvabit tamen pro virili et ipsum consuluisse.' Wex, by some refinements of argument I do not understand, objects to this, and makes 'composuisse' equivalent to a Greek aorist, like *συνθεῖναι*, *συγγράψαι*, &c., to denote the single act of composing, without regard to time. To my mind the other is a very much better explanation.

pietatis] Cf. Cic. pro Plancio 33, "Quid est pietas nisi grata voluntas in parentes?"

IV. *Gnaeus Julius Agricola*] The general custom of Tacitus in citing names is to use two, the 'gentile' and 'cognomen,' on the first mention (unless the person be extraordinarily illustrious, like the Caesars, or—extremes meeting—very obscure), and the single name afterwards. Ritter sets himself to rectify all cases not harmonizing with the rule (A. xiii. 30), thereby, in order to make the theory square well, taking unwarrantable liberties with the text. It is more likely, I think, that in a long work, Tacitus was not always consistent. Here, at all events, one can easily see why the historian gave Agricola's full name, as he is the subject of the present biographical memoir.

Forojuliensium colonia] This place is the modern Frejus, on the coast between Toulon and the Var, no great distance from Nice. Probably it derived its name from Julius Caesar, as it was a naval station in the reign of his successor (H. iii. 43). Octavius sent to it the ships he took at Actium.

procuratorem] The Procuratores managed the imperial 'patrimonium,' and also all the business connected with the revenues of the imperial provinces, as distinguished from the Quaestors in the senatorial provinces. In some of the less important provinces the Procuratores were sole governors.

quae equestris nobilitas est] 'A dignity peculiar to the knights.' Emperors like Claudius made Procuratores even of their freedmen; but this was a violation of the usual arrangement.

Julius Graecinus] This is the man of whom Seneca (de Benef. ii. 21) says, "Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Graecini Julii, viri egregii quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum quod melior vir esset quam esse quenquam tyranno expediret." It was his refusal to accuse Silanus that drew on him the resentment of Caligula, who seized probably the first fair pretext he could find for getting rid of him.

Marcum Silanum] This Silanus was consul in A.D. 19: his daughter, A.D. 33, married Caligula, in whose reign he was Proconsul of Africa. The emperor, being jealous of him, deprived him of power, and

per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parcimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare, se in prima juventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum

subsequently compelled him to put an end to his life.

pueritiam adolescentiamque] The usual divisions of age amongst the Romans are as follows:—'infantia' lasted from one year to seven; 'pueritia' from seven to fourteen; 'adolescentia' from fourteen to twenty-eight; and 'juventus' from this last date to about fifty. This is the account of Isidorus (Orig. xi. 2). Varro gives the limits rather differently.

peccantium] Tacitus is rather fond of this absolute use of the participle in the sense of a noun. Cf. Dialog. de Orat. 6, 'vulgata dicentium gaudia.' Cf. the same Dialogue, c. 13. 20. 28. 41.

Massiliam habuerit] Lipsius corrected this to 'habuerat.' In support of the indicative there are passages in the Annals (i. 14), "Quominus idem pro Druso postularetur ea causa quod designatus consul Drusus praesensque erat;" and (i. 16), "Nullis novis causis nisi quod mutatus princeps licentiam turbarum ostendebat." On the other hand, the subjunctive is also found; as (A. i. 19), "Profecto juvene, modicum otium; sed superbire miles quod filius legati orator publicae causae satis ostenderet." And also (H. ii. 95), "Laetum foedissimo cuique apud bonos invidiae fuit, quod exstructis in Campo Martio aris inferias Neroni fecisset." The difference between the two forms seems to be this: the indicative after 'quod' states a reason as existing absolutely; the subjunctive a reason existing in the opinion of the speaker, or supposed speaker. If 'habuerit' be retained, the sense would be that, in Agricola's view, his education at Massilia kept him out of mischief. If 'habuerat' be read, Tacitus puts forward the statement as a certain fact; and one would rather, I think, have expected this last reading. Massilia seems to have had a great educational reputation. Augustus (A. iv. 44) sent his sister Octavia's grandson there into polite banishment, under pretence of study; and Strabo remarks that, in his day, illustrious Romans of a literary turn frequented Massilia instead of visiting Athens. Tacitus describes the place as distinguished for Greek politeness, because it was founded by a colony of Phocaeans.

mixtum] For this use of 'mixtus,' cf. A. vi. 51, 'Inter bona malaque mixtus;' and Sall. Jug. 57, 'Taedam pice et sulphure mixtam.'

Romano ac senatori] A Roman senator was a person whose main business lay in action, not in speculation. Too great indulgence therefore in philosophical studies was thought prejudicial, as tending to foster a dreamy unpractical character. The same idea prevailed amongst the Greeks. Cf. Plato, Gorg. 484 c.

hausisse] This seems an instance of the construction, mentioned in c. 1, in the note, 'at nunc .... tempora;' the 'hausisse' being only

ac flagrantem animum coërcuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium, pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute appetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas: retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

V. Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter

the infinitive of what in the Oratio directa would have been 'hauriebat,' or 'hausit;' for the perfect is used in this way as well as the imperfect. A similar sentence occurs in c. 13, "Agitasse C. Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent."

pulchritudinem ac speciem] 'Pulchritudo' is defined by Cicero to be "quaedam apta figura membrorum cum coloris quadam suavitate." It expresses therefore the beauty of appropriate and symmetrical arrangement, 'comeliness.' 'Species' is the beauty that strikes the eye, and challenges observation.

vehementius quam caute] The common construction of course would require 'cautius' here. Walther professes to see a difference of meaning between the two forms. I can see none.

ex sapientia] This means, I think, that after the mellowing influence of reason and time had wrought a change, Agricola retained—a hard thing to do—as a relic of his old philosophical pursuits, the power of self-conquest and moderation.

V. *adprobavit*] 'Adprobare' is to make any thing satisfactory to another. Cf. A. xv. 59, 'Dum ipse majoribus ... mortem adprobaret.' Cicero's usage seems in favour of 'probare' in this sense. Cf. Ad Attic. iv. 14, and de Finibus, ii. 25.

quem contubernio aestimaret] 'Contubernium' (from 'taberna,' and 'tabula,' because made of plank) is used for a number of soldiers living together in the same tent, or for the tent itself. It was customary for young Romans of distinction to accompany some general during foreign expeditions, to learn experience in military operations. They messed with the general, and lived under his eye, being called 'contubernales.' They were distinguished from his 'comites,' as holding no office or functions under him. Cf. Cic. pro Caelio 30, and Suet. Jul. 2, and 42. 'Aestimare' here means 'to ascertain the value of,' 'to test;' and the general's aim was to find out by constant association in war of what metal the young soldier was made. The word is used in the same sense in H. iv. 73, "bonaque ac mala non sua natura sed vocibus seditiosorum aestimantur." As Valerius Paulinus is said (H. iii. 43) to have been sprung from Forum Julii, possibly Suetonius Paulinus may have also; and this would account for his taking Agricola into his tent. Paulinus was Propraetor in Mauretania, A.D. 42; governor of Britain, A.D. 59; and consul in A.D. 66 (A. xvi. 14). He was one of Otho's generals; and with Marius Celsus defeated Caecina near Cremona. After the battle of Bedriacum he fell into the hands of Vitellius.

Nec Agricola &c.] I think Cicero's phrases, 'ad honestatem omnia referre,' and 'omnia ad suam utilitatem referre,' furnish a clue to the meaning of the sentence. 'Titulus tribunatus' expresses a kind of brevet tribuneship; and as

more juvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus, titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil appetere in jactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius et intentus agere. Non sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus: tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et recuperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit; artem et

the holders of this post, in spite of their nominal rank, were really ignorant, generally speaking, of a soldier's duties, and regarded the army—not without modern imitators—as a convenient lounging-place, Tacitus adds 'et inscitiam.' 'Licenter' refers to 'voluptates,' 'segniter' to 'commeatus.' The whole passage means as follows: 'Nor did Agricola, with a display of disorderly licence, or idle lounging, make his nominal tribuneship and real ignorance a ground for pleasurable indulgence, or repeated furloughs.'

noscere provinciam] 'to acquaint himself with provincial routine.' Tacitus often uses 'noscere' in this sense. Cf. H. i. 68, "Helvetii . . . non arma noscere, non ordines sequi;" which does not mean to be ignorant of the use of arms, but not to attend to drill, &c. Compare also H. ii. 93, "miles urbe tota vagus non principia noscere," i. e. not to pay the usual regard to the 'principia.'

in jactationem] Agricola did not solicit dangerous duties with a view to boast hereafter of his success.

simulque et anxius &c.] Some of the commentators make a difficulty here, where there does not seem to be one, in the use of 'simulque et . . . . et.' The sense is not, 'and to act at once with due solicitude and energy;' for then the 'et' before 'anxius' would be superfluous; but the 'simulque' connects 'agere' with 'recusare:' 'nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque (and withal) agere (ita ut) et anxius et intentus (esset).' Of the two adjectives here, 'anxius' refers to the future, fearful of eventual miscarriage; 'intentus,' to the present, with his whole energies bent to the work in hand.

trucidati veterani, &c.] Tacitus describes this outbreak in A. xiv. 31, &c. When Suetonius Paulinus was engaged in his expedition against Mona, the Iceni, under Boudicea, aided by the Trinobantes and others, rose against the Romans. The Colonia Camulodunum, and the Municipia Verulamium and Londinium (all called loosely 'coloniae' here), were burnt. Petilius Cerialis on hastening to the rescue was defeated, his cavalry alone escaping. In the butchery attending this outbreak 70,000 citizens and allies perished. The 'veterani' were especially obnoxious to the Britons: "Acerrimo in Veteranos odio, quippe in coloniam Camulodunum recens deducti pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris captivos, servos appellando."

in ducem cessit] 'fell to the share of the general.' For this sense of the word, cf. H. i. 11, 'Inermes provinciae in pretium victoriae cessurae erant;' and H.

usum et stimulos addidere juveni: intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

VI. Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus, Domitiam Decidianam splendidis natalibus ortam sibi junxit: idque matrimonium ad majora nitenti decus ac robur fuit: vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et invicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto major laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, proconsulem Salvium Titianum dedit; quorum neutro corruptus est: quanquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus,

iii. 83, 'spolia in vulgus cedebant.' In A. xiii. 39 a dative is used instead of the preposition and accusative.

addidere] There is no zeugma here, for 'addere' is not particularly applicable to 'stimulos;' and 'addere spem,' 'metum,' 'alacritatem,' 'vigorem,' 'constantiam,' are found in Tacitus.

VI. *decus ac robur fuit*] Probably the splendid descent of his wife and her large dowry were of material help to Agricola, as adding lustre to his pretensions, and giving him means for defraying the expenses incidental to a dignified discharge of office.

nisi quod &c.] As Seneca remarks, "Quamvis ad eundem finem uterque pervenerit, tamen major est laus idem fecisse in difficiliori materia." As for a wife therefore to be a bad wife is thought more faulty than for a man to be a bad husband, because it seems to be her especial province to discharge a wife's duties well, so owing to the natural weakness of her sex, to rise high in excellence deserves more praise in a woman than in a man. The words 'nisi quod' rather refer to a thought suggested by the previous words (cf. A. i. 33; xiv. 14), viz. that they equally attained to excellence, and therefore equally deserved praise, than to the exact words themselves. At the same time, for the sake of the antithesis, Tacitus, I think, has sacrificed clearness of meaning to a fancied point.

Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam] Every proconsul was attended to his province by a Quaestor, who was paymaster to the forces, and levied such portions of the revenue as were not farmed by the Publicani. After their election at Rome, they were appointed to the particular provinces by lot.

The province of Asia was only a small part of Asia Minor, containing Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. It originated in the bequest of Attalus to the Romans, B.C. 133.

Salvium Titianum] Salvius Otho Titianus was the elder brother of the emperor Otho, with whom he was consul in A.D. 69. In the war against Vitellius, he was left in charge of Rome, but was called thence to take the chief command. He was contemptuously pardoned by Vitellius, 'pietate et ignavia excusatus.'

parata peccantibus] This means that in Asia there were people always ready to help a corruptly

et proconsul in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in subsidium simul et solatium: nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis, atque etiam ipsum tribunatus annum quiete et otio transit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem praeturae tenor et silentium: nec enim jurisdictio obvenerat. Ludos et inania honoris, medio rationis atque

disposed Roman official of rank in any scheme of mischief he might put his hand to (cf. Cic. ad Frat. i. 1), or bribe him to pervert justice.

dissimulationem] This word generally means to disguise what belongs to oneself. Tacitus however uses it in the sense of conniving at the faults of others. Cf. H. i. 26, "Etiam apud integros dissimulatio erat;" and A. xiii. 49, "magnarum rerum curam non dissimulaturos qui animum etiam levissimis adverterent."

in subsidium] Wex makes this refer to the enactment of the Lex Papia Poppaea, whereby a candidate with children was preferred to one without, and one with more children to one with fewer. But I think it only implies that Agricola having lost a son, the birth of a daughter was a prop to his house, and a solace in his sorrow for the death of the first child.

Mox inter &c.] By a law passed by Tappulus, B.C. 180, certain ages were fixed, at which each office in the state might be held. These periods appear to have been for the Quaestorship 30; for the Tribunate 33; for the Aedileship 36; for the Praetorship 39; and for the Consulate 42 or 43: so that two years elapsed between successive offices. Under the Caesars this arrangement was altered; and besides the Quaestorship being obtainable at 24, a year only seems to have elapsed between successive honours; for the ellipse here must be 'annum.' To supply 'biennium' would be extremely harsh.

jurisdictio] There were many Praetors at Rome at this period; but only two, who filled the places of the old Praetor Urbanus and Praetor Peregrinus, had the 'jus dicendi.' The others presided over the Quaestiones perpetuae, for 'repetundae,' 'ambitus,' &c. Under the emperors these last cases came practically under the cognizance of the Senate (A. iv. 6). Tacitus therefore correctly says, 'idem praeturae tenor et silentium.'

The 'jurisdictio' here spoken of included the appointment of a 'judex' (after preliminary proceedings before the Praetor in person), and the giving him the formula containing his instructions. A part of his duty was also the 'addictio,' whereby in certain cases he adjudged the property in question to one of the litigants. These functions are referred to in the 'tria verba' of Ovid: "ille nefastus erit per quem tria verba silebunt."

obvenerat] 'Obvenire' is 'to come across any one by chance,' 'to fall in his way;' generally used of any thing falling to his share by lot,—a province, for instance, as here. Cf. Caesar, B. C. i. 6, "Provinciae decernuntur; Scipioni obvenit Syria."

Ludos et inania honoris] Under the Republic the Curule Aediles had the care of the public shows. Augustus, about B.C. 20, transferred this duty to the Praetors.

The meaning of the passage is not

abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cujus alterius sacrilegium respublica quam Neronis, sensisset.

VII. Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque ejus adflixit: nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intemelios (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit: praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio affectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus, ac statim in partes transgressus est. Initia prin-

very clear. 'Ludos ducere' can hardly mean 'to give shows,' 'edere' being the proper word for that: the phrase rather seems to be equivalent to 'ludos.... habendos esse duxit.' 'Ratio' is put for 'strict rule,' the rule of not spending a farthing more than what good reason can be given for spending. Wex quotes a passage from Seneca (ad Helvid. 16), "optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum," where 'ratio' is afterwards called 'inhumana duritas;' and this is pretty much the idea here. The whole passage means, then, 'the games and empty pageants attached to the Praetor's office he regarded as requiring a mean between strict economy and lavish display; herein avoiding all profusion, and yet leaning to the side of popularity,' by shows, that is, erring, if they erred at all, in the direction of magnificence.

sensisset] The natural sequence here would be 'fecit ne sentiret,' or 'senserit,' according to the sense to be conveyed; the former expressing the object, as viewed by Agricola's own thoughts, his aim being to prevent the spoliation of the temple being felt beyond a certain limit. 'Senserit' would express the object according to the writer's present view of it, Agricola having aimed to prevent the state from now actually experiencing more than a certain amount of spoliation. Therefore 'sensisset' is unusual. It seems to be the subjunctive turn by reason of the particle 'ne,' of what in the Oratio directa would express the fact that after the completion of the inquiry it was found the state had not in point of fact suffered any loss beyond Nero's sacrilege. Wex quotes a similar passage from Pliny's Panegyric, 40, "idem effecisti ne malos principes habuissemus;" a subjunctive rendering of 'habueramus.' This of course assumes that 'ne' may possibly be equivalent to 'ut non' in expressing a result, about which there may be a difference of opinion.

VII. *classis Othoniana*] There is an account of this H. ii. 12, 13, "Tanquam externa littora et urbes hostium, urere, vastare, rapere...... pleni agri, apertae domus; occursantes domini juxta conjuges et liberos, securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur, &c. Othonis miles vertit vias in municipium Albium Intemelium .... calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia."

Intemelios] This place was apparently east of Monaco and Villafranca, near Vintimiglia.

deprehensus] A man is said to be 'deprehensus' by any news that

cipatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, admodum juvene Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad delectus agendos Agricolam, integreque ac strenue versatum, vicesimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat. Nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio: ita successor simul et ultor electus, rarissima moderatione maluit videri invenisse bonos, quam fecisse.

reaches him unexpectedly, or is brought in a hurried manner, like καταλαμβάνεσθαι in Greek. Cf. A. iii. 53, 'Ipse etiam viderem eos, ac velut deprehenderem.'

ac statim in partes transgressus est] Agricola probably attached himself to the camp of Antonius Primus. At least from the account given of this general's movements in H. ii. 85, 86, and iii. 1—10, this would be his natural point to take, as he was on his way to Liguria when the news reached him.

Mucianus] He was consul A.D. 52, under Claudius, and twice afterwards. At the death of Nero he was governor of Syria, and, being reconciled to Vespasian, supported his claim to the imperial throne zealously, marching into Europe, while Vespasian remained in Asia. On reaching Rome he assumed in reality the reins of power, although Domitian was nominally at the head of affairs. He seems to have died in Vespasian's reign.

admodum juvene] Tacitus sometimes puts the adverb 'admodum' before the adjective (cf. A. i. 3; iv. 13), and sometimes after (cf. H. ii. 78; iv. 5). Domitian at this time was about eighteen years old.

ex paterna fortuna &c.] Cf. H. iv. 2, where Tacitus says of Domitian, "nondum ad curas intentus, stupris et adulteriis filium Principis agebat." Cf. also Suet. Domit. 1.

vicesimae legioni] This was one of the four legions at that period quartered in Britain, the other three being the 2nd, 9th, and 14th. In the Itinerary of Antoninus, it is mentioned as stationed at Deva, the modern Chester, where Roman remains, altars, statues, baths, &c., are numerous.

decessor] This was Roscius Caelius, who had been at open feud with Trebellius Maximus (one of the 'legati consulares,' mentioned just before, being 'consul suffectus' A.D. 62), and driven him to abandon the island. He is the 'legatus praetorius' spoken of subsequently.

The imperial provinces were governed by 'legati praetorii,' 'consulares,' &c., who were so called, because the emperor was proconsul of all the imperial provinces, and therefore his deputies, like the assistants of the 'proconsules' of the Senatorial provinces, were properly termed 'legati.'

incertum suo &c.] This was either because he had no talent for command, or the troops no idea of subordination. 'Incertum' is used in an absolute sort of way. Cf. A. xiv. 7, "quos statim acciverat incertum an et ante ignaros;" and the sentence might be written, 'quod utrum (suo) ipsius an militum ingenio acciderit incertum est.'

rarissima &c.] This sentence means that Agricola, instead of aiming at an increase of his own reputation by making a stir, to bring the disorderly to reason, by

VIII. Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius, quam feroci provincia dignum est: temperavit Agricola vim suam, ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret; peritus obsequi, eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum. Sed primo Cerialis modo labores et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando majoribus copiis ex eventu praefecit: nec Agricola unquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem et ducem, ut minister, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando, extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

way of contrasting his own energy and strictness with the loose discipline of his predecessors, chose rather to begin by blotting out the past, and treating them as respectable characters. He thus appealed to their better feelings.

VIII. *dignum est*] Tacitus uses 'est,' not 'erat,' because he is speaking generally, not of Britain particularly. Bolanus governed Britain more inertly than suits any province where the people are only half conquered.

ne incresceret] I think the nominative case to this is 'ardor.' Walther quotes a passage from Suetonius to prove that it means 'super aliquem adsurgere;' De Illust. Gram. c. 3, "post hoc magis ac magis et gratia et cura artis increvit:" a passage which seems to me to prove nothing of the kind.

peritus obsequi] Virgil (Eclog. x. 32) has 'soli cantare periti Arcades,' and Persius (ii. 34), 'Urentes oculos inhibere perita,' but this infinitive is poetical. There are other instances of poetical infinitives: A. xiv. 56, "factus natura et consuetudine exercitus velare odium." A. iv 52, "properus quoquo facinore clarescere." A. ii. 57, "atrox et manifestus dissentire." The usual prose constructions would be 'peritus obsequendi,' 'factus ad velandum,' 'manifestus dissentiendi.' The use of the infinitive is one point in which Tacitus differs very much from the Augustan writers: for instance, he uses it after 'impello' (A. xiii. 19), 'praecipio' (Agric. 38), 'posco' (A. iii. 19), 'orare' (A. xiii. 13), 'moneo' (A. xii. 46), 'suadeo' (A. xiii. 37), and after 'perpulit' very commonly. This practice of course is not to be copied.

Petilium Cerialem] Cerialis had once been lieutenant of the 9th legion in Britain, under Suetonius Paulinus. He was connected by marriage with Vespasian and was one of his generals in the civil war. He was engaged in the capture of Rome, and was afterwards despatched into Germany to oppose Civilis and the Batavi. He appears to have died during his command in Britain.

in suam famam] 'with a view to increase his own reputation.' Cf. c. 18, "nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse."

nec extra gloriam] 'Nec' is often put in this way for 'et non.' Cf. A. iv. 11, "veris neque in miraculum corruptis." Also Cic. ad Attic. iii. 17, and Liv. iii. 55.

IX. Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios ascivit, ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae praeposuit, splendidae in primis dignitatis administratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis jurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exerceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, facile justeque agebat.

IX. *inter patricios ascivit*] In A.D. 74 Vespasianus and his son Titus were appointed Censors, the last who held that office. They endeavoured to recruit the ranks of the Patricians, thinned by a long series of cruelties and deaths, few having survived of those Patrician families who in the early days of Rome formed her sole burghers or citizens. At the end of the Republic there were only some fifty of these families left. Julius Caesar therefore, by the 'lex Cassia,' raised many plebeians to that rank (Suet. Jul. Caes. 41). Augustus and Claudius did the same, but under Vespasianus they had again dwindled down to 200 families (A. xi. 25).

Aquitaniae] This was one of Caesar's three divisions of Gallia, but it was afterwards enlarged, and embraced the country between the Cevennes, the Loire, Garonne, and Pyrenees. A trace of its name is supposed to be retained in Guienne.

splendidae . . . dignitatis] This is a genitive of quality, like "mater Procilla fuit rarae castitatis" (c. 4), loosely descriptive of the province of Aquitania, or more correctly of the office of its ruler. This dignity was twofold; consisting absolutely in the government of so extensive and important a province (cf. H. iii. 53, 'Gallias, Hispaniasque validissimam terrarum partem'), and, in the next place, in the probability of its ruler being elevated to the Consulship. The nominative case to 'destinarat' is 'provincia,' not 'Vespasianus;' the splendour of a province could hardly be affected by the isolated fact that the Emperor thought of making Agricola Consul; whereas if its rulers were as a matter of general routine usually made Consuls, this would add to its splendour considerably. Nevertheless the term 'destinarat' does strike one as odd. Perhaps the pluperfect is used, because as compared with the actual administration this hope of the Consulate was anterior to it. The province was splendid from its actual government, and even before that, from the hope of the Consulate marked out for its ruler in any particular case, from the very moment of his nomination.

secura et obtusior] 'Securus' is used here rather curiously: it seems to imply a rough and ready sort of justice, a justice not troubling itself overmuch about legal subtleties, but founded on broad principles of equity. 'Obtusus' is used of any thing bruised ('tundo') until the fine edge is gone. Lucretius (iv. 356) observes that a square tower at a distance looks round, "angulus obtusus quia longe Cernitur omnis;" the sharp outline is destroyed by distance. Here it means 'blunt,' 'unrefined.'

plura manu agens] 'Agere manu' is equivalent to 'vi agere,' to do things with a strong hand.

quamvis inter togatos] 'Togati' are civilians, the 'toga' being the dress of peace, as distinguished from 'sagum,' the soldier's cloak (cf. Cic. Phil. viii. 11). The reference here is to the assizes held under the governor's presidency, generally in the winter months, when the army had gone

Jam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus ac judicia poscerent, gravis, intentus, severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satisfactum, nulla ultra potestatis persona: tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat: nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam

into winter-quarters, in certain towns of the province, for the settlement of all legal suits. The judges, lawyers, &c. engaged of course would wear the 'toga.'

facile justeque agebat] Agricola presided with ease to himself, because he was up to his work (cf. Suet. Tib. 71, 'alioquin promptus et facilis sermone Graeco,' &c.).

et saepius misericors] Some of the commentators want to alter this 'et' into 'sed' or 'at;' but Tacitus often uses 'et' in this sense. Cf. A. i. 13, 'Gallum avidum et minorem,' and H. iii. 56, 'nec quidquam nisi jucundum et laesurum.' So Juvenal, 'probitas laudatur et alget;' honesty is praised and—starves.

persona] 'Persona' is properly a mask for stage-players, to increase the compass of their voices; by an easy transition it means a character like those in a drama. Cf. Cic. pro Murena, 3, "partes lenitatis et misericordiae semper egi lubenter: illam vero gravitatis severitatisque personam non appetivi." Also Liv. iii. 36, "ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit: suo jam vivere ingenio coepit."

tristitiam . . . exuerat] What Tacitus means by 'tristitia' he explains in H. i. 14, "aestimatione severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur."

The use of 'exuo' here is not quite easy to understand. If a man puts off a vice, one naturally supposes him to have had that vice at first more or less. Tacitus would hardly allow that Agricola ever displayed the faults mentioned here. His idea really seems to have been that certain vices may be looked for in persons holding certain positions: avarice, &c. he regards as the natural faults of a provincial governor; probably they were such in nine cases out of ten in his experience. By 'exuerat' he means to say that Agricola put away from him the vices which might naturally have been expected to cling round him in his capacity of governor. So Agrippina is said (A. vi. 25) "virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuisse," meaning apparently not that Agrippina once had these faults and cured them, but that she put away from her all the faults usually found in women.

facilitas] The word has not the same sense as 'facile' above. Here it means 'good-nature,' 'readiness to oblige,' as in Virgil's 'facilis victu,' and 'haud facilis visu.' In this respect Agricola carried out the instructions of the Digest: "observandum est jus reddenti, ut in adeundo quidem facilem se praebeat . . . mandatis adjicitur ne praesides provinciarum in ulteriorem familiaritatem provinciales admittant."

Integritatem atque abstinentiam] The first shows his uprightness on the bench, whereby he was proof against corruption; the latter his honesty in not making a fortune out of the state moneys or property which he had to control.

cui saepe etiam boni] For the sentiment cf. H. iv. 6, "Erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur."

boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores: et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur. Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus, ac statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam ei provinciam dari: nullis in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

collegas] These would be the governors of the neighbouring provinces, Gallia Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, Belgica. So in H. i. 10, a Praefect of Syria is said to be "apud subjectos, apud proximos, apud collegas variis inlecebris potens." In A. xiii. 53, Aelius Gracilis, Legatus of Belgica, is mentioned as looking enviously on his neighbours, the Legati of Germany.

procuratores] There was only one Procurator in each province, but in the three years of Agricola's government there may have been several: or the plural may be put generally, 'such rivalry as is generally seen between Legati and Procuratores.'

atteri] There was no credit in getting the better of an inferior like a Procurator, and great disgrace in being crushed by one. 'Atteri' is to be bruised against any thing.

Minus triennium] According to Dion Cassius it was Maecenas who suggested three years as the term for the Legati to hold their government. Tiberius however did not act on the suggestion, but continued his Legati in office for many years, and sometimes all their lives.

After 'minus,' 'amplius,' 'plus,' in the computation of time or numbers, the 'quam' is generally omitted, and the noun or adjective put in the case required by the construction of the sentence, as 'amplius sexcenti occisi sunt,' 'more than 600 were killed.'

nullis in hoc suis sermonibus] Tacitus uses an ablative absolute without any participle, but one of existence; as "nullis contra terris: libero quid firmaret mutaretve;" a construction not very usual in other writers.

Consul] He was Consul suffectus with Domitian A.D. 77, Vespasian and Titus having been Consuls from the 1st of January to the end of June. This is no doubt the reason why Tacitus passes over his office so lightly.

egregiae tum spei] This seems a particularly appropriate expression, because the young lady between her betrothal and marriage was called apparently sometimes 'sperata,' as well as 'sponsa,' 'pacta,' &c. Forcellini quotes three passages to the point, two from Nonius: "Curre et nuntia me venire et meum speratum adduce," of a bridegroom; and "speratam non odi tuam;" and a third from Arnobius, "Uxores dii habent? habent speratas, habent pactas," &c.

filiam] Agricola was Consul A.D. 77, and this daughter having been born during his quaestorship in A.D. 63, probably would only be fourteen years old at the betrothal. It was customary to betroth girls while quite young (not under seven). Augustus forbade betrothal before ten, so that betrothal should not last more than two years.

X. Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam; sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita, quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac coelo in orientem

pontificatus] The Pontifices were not the priests of any particular divinity, but were a college, exercising superintendence over religious observances generally. Usually about fifteen or sixteen in number, they regulated all sacred rites, public and private, arranged the Calendar, kept the public funds for sacred purposes, &c. Originally, on a vacancy in their body, the Pontifices chose a person to fill it; but afterwards the right was transferred to the people: again re-transferred to the College by M. Antonius. At last the right fell, like most other rights, into the Imperial hands (Suet. Octav. 31). Cf. A. i. 3, and H. i. 77.

X. *multis scriptoribus*] These are Caesar, Pomponius Mela, Suetonius, Pliny, Strabo.

in comparationem] Tacitus does not aim at matching his own research or talent against those of other writers. Cf. Velleius Paterculus ii. 9, "Usque in Graecorum ingeniorum comparationem evecti."

perdomita est] 'entirely conquered.' This was no doubt true. As Tacitus mentions in c. 13, Julius Caesar's expeditions were merely temporary in their effects. In the last he penetrated no further than Hertfordshire, and on his withdrawal his whole force withdrew too. Augustus threatened to reduce Britain, but Gaul saw the end of his expedition, and Horace's remarks (i. 21. 35, &c.) are poetical flourishes.

Tiberius acted upon Augustus' policy of letting Britain alone, as not worth the trouble of conquering and retaining. Caius Caesar's conquest of Britain amounted to having sheltered the son of a British chief, Cynobellin. Under Claudius the work of conquest really began. That emperor's name is found on coins and those of his generals in inscriptions. Succeeding governors at all events retained the hold already gained, and, in the reign of Vespasian, Petilius Cerialis made large additions to the Roman conquests, until under Agricola almost the entire country was subjugated, and many of the adjacent islands: "incognitas ad id tempus insulas, Orcadas invenit domuítque."

spatio] 'Spatium' seems used here for 'extension,' 'length of outline,' as in Pliny vii. 17, "quod sit hominis spatium a vestigio ad verticem, id esse passis manibus inter longissimos digitos animadversum est." Translate, 'Britain, as regards the extension of its coast, and its geographical position (in the way of latitude, on which climate depends), lies opposite to Germany on the East,' &c. Tacitus means to say that the British and German coasts are about parallel; and by adding 'coelo,' which makes the latitude equal, he shows that these parallel lines must run vertically, not horizontally, as they might do at any interval whatever, if the climate were not declared to be the same.

The ancients appear to have held singular views as to the relative position of Britain (and Ireland) with regard to Spain. Here Tacitus makes its western outline face Spain, and in c. 24 he speaks of Ireland as lying between Britain and Spain. The classical writers seem altogether to have overlooked the fact that Normandy and Brittany run out for a vast distance almost due West;

Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur: Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur: septentrionalia ejus, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae, vel bipenni adsimulavere: et est ea facies citra Caledoniam; unde et in universum fama est transgressa: sed immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam litore terrarum, velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque: dispecta est et Thule, nam hactenus

and the French coast then takes a sharp turn Southward. They thought the Northern and Western shores stretched away in a South-western direction, in continuation of the German coast, while the Spanish coast rose to a great height towards the North or North-west. In the angle thus formed they placed Britain and Ireland.

Gallis in meridiem &c.] This expression is equivalent to 'ita Gallis in meridiem obtenditur ut ab iis inspici possit.'

Livius veterum, &c.] In the Epitome of the 105th book of his History Livy gives a brief notice of the partial conquest of the island by Caesar. It is in this lost book no doubt that he makes the comparison here mentioned. Tacitus quotes Fabius Rusticus several times (A. xiii. 20; xiv. 2; xv. 61) as an authority for certain facts connected with the Emperor Nero's history. His work therefore at all events treated of this portion of Roman History; beyond this, nothing is known.

oblongae scutulae] This word is not derived from 'scutum,' for the quantities of the first syllables are different. Pliny (xi. 28) calls a spider's web 'scutulatum rete.' Vitruvius speaks of triangular and square 'scutulae.' Probably the writers meant a 'trapezium.' Martial uses 'scutulae' (xi. 31) in the sense of saucers or dishes.

in universum] That is, report applies to the entire island what is only true of a part.

enorme spatium &c.] This means that where the shore appears to be already coming to an end, the land suddenly juts out into a huge and irregular promontory, gradually tapering away to a point, or the small end of a wedge. By 'extremo jam littore' he designates the narrow isthmus between the Clota and Bodotria aestuaria, or the Friths of Clyde and Forth.

incognitas] Pomponius Mela, who lived in the reign of Claudius, mentions the Orkneys as about thirty in number; therefore 'incognitas' means 'unknown,' as not having been explored, not in the sense of 'unheard of.' Other writers, Eusebius and Orosius, attribute the conquest of them to Claudius; probably this was a flourish in honour of the Imperial name.

dispecta est] 'Dispicere' is properly 'to look here and there,' 'to gaze all round.' Cf. Plaut. Cist. iv. 2. 25, "Hoc age; ad terram aspice, dispice, oculis investigans," of a person looking about for a lost casket. Also A.

jussum, et hiems appetebat: sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent; ne ventis quidem perinde attolli: credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere hujus operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio colu-

iii. 22, "Haud facile quis dispexerit illa in cognitione mentem Principis." From this it comes to be applied, as Ernesti says, to "ea quae non sine magna oculorum contentione cernuntur." A glimpse was got of Thule; and two reasons are given why it was only a glimpse and nothing more; first, because Thule was fixed as the limit of their voyage, and on reaching it they returned at once ('hactenus jussum'); secondly, because the winter was drawing near, and time for reconnoitring the place more fully was wanting.

Thule] What Tacitus means by Thule is not very clear. Pliny's account of Thule (iv. 30) is, that it was the remotest island of the German Sea, a day's sail from the Frozen Ocean, where at the Solstice there was no darkness, and at the winter no light. This would probably be Iceland. Whether Tacitus, however, means Iceland is very doubtful. Possibly here it means the Shetland Islands, which are visible, I believe, from the Orkneys. Other writers made Thule a part of Scandinavia.

mare pigrum &c.] Pliny (iv. 27) says, "Septemtrionalis Oceanus, Amalchium eum Hecataeus appellat, a Paropamiso amne qua Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua significat congelatum. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, usque ad promontorium Rubeas: ultra deinde Cronium." In Welsh, Mor Marwth, I believe, means dead sea. In Icelandic again, Muir Croin is congealed sea. Whether this is due to sea-weed, like the fucus which is said to have checked the progress of Himilco, on the Western coast of Africa, or whether to some other legend, is not known.

ac multi rettulere] Amongst others Pliny, in his Natural History, ii. 99 (where 'aestus' is used as here of the ebb and flow), and Strabo i. 3. 8, treat of the tides.

multum fluminum] All round the Scottish coast the sea penetrates far inland, and forces its way, by friths and lochs, into the very heart of the mountainous country. As these friths and lochs have rivers disemboguing into them at their inner ends, and by their waves at high water force back the channels of these rivers, Tacitus speaks of the sea as driving ('ferre') the rivers on all sides. By 'ambire' he means that the waves wind their way round the hills, until the peaks become insulated.

velut in suo] The sea is quite at home in the heart of the country; not an intruder, but naturalized, as though it were in its own proper domain, the Ocean. The commentators quote Seneca, Nat. Quaest. iii. 30, "Non vides ut aestus fines suos transeat, et in possessionem terrarum mare indicat."

XI. *qui mortales &c.*] Beyond vague

erint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta: namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus, Germanicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse, easque sedes occu-

inferences, drawn from supposed resemblances, the ancients did not care much for Ethnological researches. They were content to acquiesce in the account each people gave of itself, and of course barbarous tribes would be able to give very little account of themselves. Hence Tacitus says, "ut inter barbaros parum compertum." Really the classical nations of antiquity knew about as little of their own ultimate extraction as of that of any other people, having made no progress in analyses of various languages. No doubt the earliest known inhabitants of Britain were Keltic, whether of the Gaelic division or Kymric being uncertain; although the former supposition on some grounds seems more probable. In this case they were pressed Northwards by the invading Kymri, just as these last were themselves subsequently displaced by Teutonic races.

rutilae . . . Germanicam originem] There are no doubt some reasons, more or less strong, in the eyes of different Ethnologists for considering a portion at least of the inhabitants of Caledonia of Teutonic or Norse origin. However, it is not essential for the truth of the writer's description of the physical peculiarities of the people, to have the question settled one way or the other. His account suits the Keltic characteristics just as well as the Teutonic.

Caledoniam] This word is supposed by many to be derived from Celydd, pl. Celeddon, a woody shelter. The term originally seems to have been restricted to a small part of modern Scotland, extending from Loch Fyne to the Murray Frith. Agricola appears to have extended the name to all the people North of the Grampians, or even the Friths of Clyde and Forth.

Silurum colorati vultus] This has nothing to do with Caesar's remark (v. 14) about the Britons staining their bodies. It means 'dark-hued,' just as in Virgil, Georg. iv. 293, the Indians are called 'colorati.' It is by no means impossible, one may think, that there should have been colonies thrown off by the Iberians of Spain, in the way Tacitus mentions. The Silures occupied the valley of the Severn, in South Wales, Herefordshire, and West Worcestershire.

Iberos] These people are a great puzzle to Ethnologists. In historic times they occupied the Spanish Peninsula throughout its chief parts, and were the lineal ancestors of the Basques of the Pyrenees. According to the common theory they were pressed on by the Keltic immigrations and displaced. In another view, the Kelts were the original occupiers of Spain, and were ejected by the inroads of the Iberi from the South and East of the Peninsula. I suppose in either case, dispossessed or adventurous Iberi may have visited these islands. At any rate there is a persistent tradition amongst the ancients of the peopling of some part of Britain and Ireland from the Spanish coast.

trajecisse] 'Trajicere' is used in more constructions than one. It occurs as an active verb; as Liv. ii. 11, "Ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occasiones trajiceret;" and as a neuter verb, Liv. xxx. 24, "Cnaeus Servilius Consul in Sici-

passe fidem faciunt: proximi Gallis, et similes sunt: seu durante originis vi; seu, procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio coeli corporibus habitum dedit: in universum tamen aestimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas superstitionum persuasione: sermo haud multum diversus: in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia; et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido: plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit: nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate: quod Britan-

liam, inde in Africam transiturus, trajecit." The intermediate step between the two with the pronoun, is also found, Liv. xxviii. 18, "non ducem Romanum in Africam sese trajecisse in hostilem terram."

procurrentibus &c.] According to the view of the ancients, the Gallic coast ran North-east, and the British coast South-west. 'In diversa' therefore does not mean the same thing as 'ex adverso;' which is simply 'opposite.' Cf. H. iii. 13, 'ex adverso legiones.'

According to Strabo (iv. 5. 1) Britain is triangular, its longest side being parallel to Keltica, and extending like it about 4300 stadia. Keltica reaches from the mouths of the Rhine to the Northern extremities of the Pyrenees; the side of Britain extends from Kent, its Easternmost point opposite the mouths of the Rhine, to the Western extremity of the island, which lies over against Aquitania and the Pyrenees. This makes the meaning of 'in diversa' very clear.

aestimanti] See the note on Germ. c. 6, upon this phrase.

sermo haud multum diversus] The present Welsh is nearly connected with the language of Brittany in France. If the language of all Britain was homogeneous, and the Breton tongue represents the ancient Gallic, the remark of Tacitus is obviously true. If the Gaelic of Scotland be considered the nearest representative of the Gallic tongue as Tacitus meant it, then the resemblance, I suppose, would be much less exact. Or, again, if following the Welsh Triads the Lloegrian branch of the Keltic stock be supposed to have occupied Eastern and Southern Britain, and also a Lloegrian race France to the Mediterranean Sea (see a paper on the Ethnology of England by Dr. Donaldson in the Cambridge Essays, 1856), then the assertion 'sermo haud multum diversus' would be grounded upon undoubted fact.

in deposcendis periclis] This fickleness seems to have been universally an attribute of the Gaul. In Apostolic days in Asia Minor they were true to their character,—"I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you." Caesar noticed the same fact (iii. 19). Strabo too (iv. 4. 2) remarks that the Gaul was always ready for fighting, and passionate. Their lightness of character however threw them into consternation when at all worsted. Τῷ δὲ ἁπλῷ καὶ θυμικῷ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀλαζονικὸν πρόσεστι· ὑπὸ τοιαύτης δὲ κουφότητος ἀφόρητοι μὲν νικῶντες, ἐκπλαγεῖς δ' ἡττηθέντες ὁρῶνται.

praeferunt] This is used for 'prae se ferunt,' A. ii. 53, "Vetera, suorum facta dictaque praeferentes." Also A. xvi. 22, "Ut imperium evertant, libertatem praeferunt."

norum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent, quales Galli fuerunt.

XII. In pedite robur: quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur: honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis trahuntur: nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulunt. Rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus, ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. Coelum crebris imbribus ac

olim victis] Those Britons who were reduced in the reigns of Claudius and Nero.

XII. *In pedite robur*] This does not imply that the Britons had no cavalry; they clearly had, for Mela (iii. 6) describes them as fighting "non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum etiam bigis et curribus." Caesar also, speaking of the Britons (iv. 24), says "barbari praemisso equitatu et essedariis." The use of the war-chariot was confined to certain tribes. Perhaps the use of cavalry proper was restricted to such tribes as had no 'covini.'

honestior auriga] This was the reverse of the Greek usage, where the ἡνίοχος was of inferior rank to the παραβάτης, and often styled θεράπων. These chariots were driven by the warrior, and carried a number of his fighting men of lower rank. On reaching the enemy's line, these last leaped down and fought on foot. The 'aurigae' drove off to a little distance and stood aloof. In case the 'clientes' were distressed, they were carried off in the chariots. Cf. Caesar, iv. 33.

Olim regibus] Some of these kings are mentioned by Tacitus; for instance, Caractacus, king of the Silures (A. xii. 33); Prasutagus, of the Iceni (A. xiv. 31); Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes (A. xii. 36). By 'principes' he means heads of the different parties, into which the states were split up.

trahuntur] With this compare Agricola, "expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat" (c. 24). Claudius also made equally adroit use of another 'regulus,' Bericus, under similar circumstances.

'Trahuntur' is here used like 'distrahuntur.' With 'trahor' there is generally something added to make the meaning clearer. Cf. A. xv. 1, "Vologeses . . . diversas ad curas trahebatur."

in commune non consulunt] There are several variations of this phrase. In 'medium consulere,' 'in unum consulere,' are used in Tacitus and other writers. 'In commune consulere' is less common.

duabus tribusque] Some of the editors alter this to 'duabus tribusve.' The difference between the two expressions seems explained by a passage in Demosthenes contra Aphobum, p. 816 A, Ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ κατέλιπε δύο ἐργαστήρια μαχαιροποιοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἀνὰ πέντε μνᾶς καὶ ἕξ. There were two or three and thirty slaves, and some were reckoned at five minae and some at six. Here 'duabus tribusve' would mean that the Britons united sometimes to the extent of two, or it might be, three states; 'duabus tribusque,' that they united in some cases to the extent of two, in others to the extent of three states.

nebulis foedum: asperitas frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant: scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque coelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum, praeter oleam vitem-

asperitas frigorum abest] Caesar (v. 12) makes a similar remark. No doubt the temperature of Britain, Germany, and Gaul was lower before the countries were cleared than now, but there would probably be the same ratio preserved between their respective climates; the insular position of Britain and the Gulf Stream contributing to its higher temperature.

Dierum spatia &c.] Pliny (ii. 77) gives a list of the length of the days at different places on the earth's surface. In Italy the longest day has fifteen hours, in Britain seventeen, the nights being correspondingly long at the opposite seasons of the year. Hence Juvenal (ii. 161) talks of "Orcadas, et minima contentos nocte Britannos." In the Orkneys, in lat. 60, the longest day is a little over eighteen hours in length.

aspici per noctem solis fulgorem] Tacitus here asserts of Britain what is true of countries in very much higher latitudes. Pytheas of Marseilles (Plin. ii. 77) describes the night and day of Thule, six days' voyage North of Britain, as consisting each of six months; but this is only true within the Polar circle. Lord Mulgrave, in his Travels, says, that in lat. sixty-five, on the 12th of June, it was light enough to read all night; so that Tacitus is not very far out when he says "finem atque initium lucis exiguo certamine internoscas."

solis fulgorem, &c.] Pomponius Mela says "quanquam (sol) ipse non cernatur, vicino tamen splendore proxima illustrat." If the subject of 'transire' in the text is 'fulgorem,' this remark would be literally true of a latitude not very much higher than that of the Orkneys. Although the sun is below the horizon, yet he is so little below it that his course may almost be traced, and his position at any moment correctly fixed. However, I think Tacitus intends the subject to be 'solem,' not 'fulgorem.'

extrema et plana terrarum] One can hardly suppose Tacitus to have been ignorant of the earth's sphericity, a property known to Pliny (ii. 64) and others at a date earlier than the historian's. His idea—so far as his words convey any distinct idea—appears to be as follows: the earth from Britain to the Pole sloped abruptly, so as to be almost flat; at all events much flatter than elsewhere. Behind this the sun descended only a little way. Clearly, the result of this would be that the central parts of the earth would throw upwards a long shadow reaching to the sky, and so causing night. The parts near the Pole, from their flatness, and the fact of the sun being so little below the horizon, would cast a shadow rising to a short distance only above the earth. By this shadow, or night ('Quippe manifestum est non aliud esse noctem quam terrae umbram,' Plin. ii. 7), the ground near the Pole would be darkened, but far above its highest point the stars would shine unobscured by the lower darkness.

que et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt: eademque utriusque rei causa, multus humor terrarum coelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae: gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia

aurum et argentum &c.] Strabo (iv. 5. 2) mentions gold, silver, and iron as products of Britain. Caesar speaks of tin ('plumbus albus') as obtained from the interior, and iron from the Maritime parts, rather reversing the fact. Cicero indeed (ad Attic. iv. 16) remarks, "illud jam cognitum est neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula;" but here he was saying more than he knew.

Copper was also found. Of this last, round pigs have been discovered in Wales; one being preserved at Mostyn Hall in Flintshire, bearing an inscription, 'Socio Romae.' Iron works existed in the country of the Silures, near the forest of Dean, and in the weald of Sussex and Kent vast masses of 'scoriae' or slag have been found at Maresfield and elsewhere. Tin was found, as at present, in Cornwall and Wales, where Roman mines, I believe, have been traced, and blocks of Roman tin found. Traces of lead mines are numerous in Shropshire and other places; and pigs of lead, with the miner's stamps on them, are found. Some of these pigs have 'ex argent.' on them, or 'lut(um) ex argento,' in allusion to some process for separating the lead and silver often found together then, as now, in our silver-lead mines. A silver ingot, with a Roman inscription, was found in the last century near the Tower of London in digging for foundations. Gold has been traced, in quartz formation, in Wales, near Lampeter, and great mounds of pounded quartz still remain.

margarita] Pliny (ix. 57) observes that pearls were found in England (small, however, and discoloured); for Julius Caesar dedicated a breast-plate to Venus entirely composed of British pearls. Suetonius makes Caesar's eagerness for pearls his motive for invading this country (Jul. Caesar, 47).

There used to be a regular pearl fishery near Perth up to the close of the last century, when it became exhausted. I believe they are often found also in the river Conway. The Romans were excessively fond of these articles of luxury. Pliny, in an amusing passage (ix. 56), says, "Hos digitis suspendere, et binos ac ternos auribus, feminarum gloria est; quin et pedibus nec crepidarum tantum obstragulis sed totis socculis addunt; neque enim gestare jam margaritas nisi calcent, ac per uniones etiam ambulent, satis est." The Romans were even foolish enough to dissolve and drink them (Plin. ix. 58, 59). Cf. Martial, viii. 81.

artem abesse] According to Pliny (ii. 55), the divers had to practise considerable skill; for the oyster snapped at the diver's fingers, and lopped them off if he were not quick enough in his motions. The rocks too, where pearls were chiefly found, were dangerous.

in rubro mari] By this Tacitus means the Persian gulf, a portion of the θάλασσα ἐρυθρά. Pliny says, "Praecipue laudantur circa Arabiam in Persico sinu Maris Rubri." Tacitus uses Mare Rubrum for the Persian gulf. A ii. 61, "Exin ventum Elephantinem ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani im-

saxis avelli; in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim, naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

XIII. Ipsi Britanni delectum ac tributa et injuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si injuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia et in rempublicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace. Consilium id divus Augustus vocabat: Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Caium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio, mobilis poenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam

perii, quod nunc rubrum ad mare patescit;" for the last clause refers no doubt to Trajan's extension of the Roman empire to the Persian gulf in A.D. 115.

XIII. *munera*] This means the various imposts of an extraordinary nature imposed on the Britons from time to time,—what Tacitus elsewhere terms 'collationes,'—or any regular contributions not falling under 'tributa;' such perhaps as the 'frumentum in cellam,' supplied for the maintenance of the governor and his establishment. The word can hardly mean work done for the Romans, or duties performed. Tacitus seems to use 'munia' in that sense. Cf. A. i. 11, "munia reipublicae sociatis laboribus exsecuturos." Also, A. i. 16. 31. 69, as compared with A. iv. 26; xiv. 50.

Igitur] Tacitus seems to regard this description of the Britons as a digression, and he resumes the thread of his main narrative with the word 'igitur.' Cf. Sall. Jug. 19, 'Igitur ad Catabathmon,' &c., after a parenthetical sentence.

Consilium] Tacitus (A. i. 11) mentions a note-book compiled by Augustus, containing an account of the provinces, taxes, armies, &c., of the empire. The historian adds, "addiderat consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii incertum metu an per invidiam." It suited the wily and crooked policy of Tiberius to fall back, with a view to hide his real motives, on some order handed down from Augustus, especially when, as in this case, there happened to be undoubted colour for it; although if there had been none, Tiberius was likely enough to pretend there was. This assumed or real regard paid by Tiberius to the wishes of Augustus is mentioned elsewhere. Speaking (A. i. 77) of the Intercessio of Haterius Agrippa on a proposal to make actors liable to the Praetor's rod, Tacitus says, "Valuit intercessio, quia divus Augustus immunes verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta ejus." In A. iv. 37, Tiberius speaks of himself as one, "qui omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observem."

mobilis poenitentiae] This genitive is a favourite construction with Tacitus: he has 'modicus voluptatum,' 'properus irae,' 'ferox linguae,' &c. But 'mobilis poenitentiae' seems a little awkward. In the

conatus frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano: quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges, et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV. Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus, ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae: addita insuper veteranorum colonia: quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram

other cases the noun serves to point out the sphere of the quality mentioned, 'moderate in pleasure.' Here 'mobilis' alone expresses all that is required. Indeed the whole sentence is awkwardly worded; for the repetition of 'fuisset' with the first clause, taken from 'frustra fuissent' in the second, is clumsy.

auctor operis] The work here intended is that of the real subjugation of Britain; for it was, as before remarked, in this emperor's reign that the foundation of the solid conquest of the island was laid. It was to a share of this work that Vespasianus was admitted by Claudius ('adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano'). Cf. H. iii. 44, and Suet. Vesp. 4.

capti reges] An inscription (Orell. Inscript. 715), partly restored, runs thus: "Ti. Clav(dio) . . . senatvs Popv(lvsque Rom. qvod) reges Brit(anniae) gentesque primvs in dicio(nem P. R. redegit)."

monstratus fatis] 'pointed out to us by the Fates,' brought under our notice as a future celebrity. Looking on the Fates as persons, one would rather expect 'a fatis,' in accordance with the usual rule. However, Tacitus is not very particular about observing this. For instance, "Facilius crediderim Tiberio et Augusto cohibitam" (A. iii. 3), "Urbes quae Macedonibus sitae Graeca vocabula usurpant" (A. vi. 41), and "Ut exemplo majorum propinquis suis removeretur" (A. ii. 50). Sentences like the first two, where a perfect participle occurs, may also be regarded as cases of a dative construction, like that after gerundives in 'dus;' just as in Greek after perfect participles, the dative is used instead of the regular genitive and preposition. For an instance of this, cf. A. x. 29, "Callistus jam mihi circa necem Caii Caesaris narratus." Perhaps in all such instances as those above, and A. vi. 31. Liv. v. 15 ('sed propior interpres fatis oblatus'), it is better to consider the cases datives rather than ablatives.

XIV. *colonia*] This was Camulodunum, the chief seat of the British chief Cynobellin, originally called Caer Colun. A strong body of veterans was settled here to coerce the rebellious tribes. It is generally supposed to be Colchester. Others think Maldon retains traces of the old Roman name. The fourteenth legion Gemina Martia Victrix was stationed here, but recalled by Vitellius.

Cogidumno regi] A stone found at Chichester in the last century had the following inscription (the gaps being filled up by conjecture): "(N)eptvno et Minervae templvm (pr)o salvte do(mvs) divinae (ex) avctorita(te) (Tiberii) Clavd(ii) (Co)gidvbni r(egis) lega(ti) Avg(vsti) in Brit.," &c. This no doubt refers to Cogidubnus, or Cogidumnus, who apparently took the emperor's name in addition to his own, and embellished Chichester.

usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac jam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum exstinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus, firmatisque praesidiis: quorum fiducia Monam insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem, adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.

XV. Namque absentia legati remoto metu, Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre injurias et interpretando accendere. Nihil profici patientia, nisi ut

instrumenta servitutis &c.] This policy of the Romans is alluded to in Liv. xliv. 24, "Populum Romanum regum viribus reges oppugnare: Attalo adjutore patrem suum oppressum .... in se nunc et Eumenem et Prusiam armatos esse."

aucti officii] 'Officium' is used here for the province under the government of Gallus. Cf. Caesar, B. C. iii. 5, "Toti tamen officio maritimo Bibulus praepositus cuncta administrabat."

Veranius] He was 'legatus' of Cappadocia when first reduced to a Roman province, A.D. 18; and took part in the prosecution of C. Piso, the supposed poisoner of Germanicus. He was consul A.D. 49, under Claudius.

subactis nationibus] This is not a common use of the ablative absolute of the perfect participle. Generally it denotes the steps leading to the accomplishment of some result described, "Omisso Romano bello Porsenna Aruntem Ariciam oppugnatum misit." Here it adds the reason for the opinion expressed, 'He was fortunate, in that he subdued,' &c. So in H. i. 63, "Omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor terruit raptis de repente armis ad caedem innoxiae civitatis." Cf. Agric. 22, "annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum nationibus."

Tacitus also uses a perfect participle to denote not an anterior, but a concomitant event. Cf. A. iv. 34, "quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset." Also, A. xvi. 21, "Nero virtutem ipsam exscindere concupivit, interfecto Thrasea Paeto." This seems to arise from the perfect being used aoristically, not to compare the two events introduced by it, and the main verb in point of time between themselves, but because the two events are both past, compared to the time of narrative. Cf. Agric. 25, "Aestate amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, portus classe exploravit." Cf. also Suet. Aug. 17, 'bis conflictatus,' &c., and A. vi. 24.

firmatis praesidiis] 'strong garrisons having been posted.' Cf. A. xiii. 41, "Nec id nobis virium erat quod firmando praesidio et capessendo bello divideretur."

Monam insulam] The modern Anglesey, a stronghold of Druidical superstition. It was reduced by Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61, and its sacred groves cut down or burnt. There are still extensive British remains found, intrenchments, cromlechs, &c.

graviora, tanquam ex facili tolerantibus, imperentur: singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi; e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret: aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subjectis exitiosam: alterius manus centuriones, alterius, servos vim et contumelias miscere: nihil jam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum: in proelio fortiorem esse, qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, injungi delectus, tanquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus: quantulum enim transisse mili-

XV. *ex facili*] There are many adjectives used in this way with 'ex' adverbially. The following, besides the one in the text, occur in Tacitus: 'ex adfluenti,' 'ex aequo.' Livy has 'ex improviso,' 'ex composito,' 'ex praeparato,' 'ex tuto,' 'ex vano,' 'ex insperato.' Later instances are 'ex abundanti,' 'ex dissimulato,' 'ex professo,' 'ex continenti,' 'ex pari,' 'ex integro.' Cicero has 'ex improviso,' 'ex occulto.'

singulos] Formerly they had one king a-piece; now in each case they had two. It does not mean, of course, that the two were in each case different, but that every tribe had received a double ruler in lieu of their own single one.

in sanguinem .... saeviret] Cf. A. xii. 34, "Quorum virtute vacui a securibus et tributis," of the 'legatus' and 'procurator' respectively. The former would have the power of life and death; the latter would seize their goods in satisfaction of fiscal claims.

The subjunctive of the verb here is either that of the Oratio obliqua, in which case the clause might be replaced by 'e quibus legatum saevire,'—a construction usual enough in speeches thrown into narrative,—or it is the subjunctive of 'purpose,' and equivalent to 'ut ex iis legatus saeviret.'

alterius manus &c.] 'Centurions, the violent crew of the one, and slaves the crew of the other, combined violence and insults.' This is an awkwardly worded sentence, if it is correct; for 'manus alterius' is abruptly explained by 'centuriones.' The violence would be mainly due to the centurions, the insults to the slaves. The former are the military officials of the 'legatus;' the latter the ministers of the 'procurator.' Cf. A. xiv. 31, "Quod contra vertit, adeo ut regnum per centuriones, domus per servos velut, capta vastarentur." Ritter omits 'manum' as a gloss; but it does not seem absolutely necessary to reject it, although the sentence is certainly better without it.

libidini exceptum] 'nothing is left secure from their avarice and lust.' Here the dative is the usual one after verbs of taking away. Cf. Virg. Aen. ix. 270, "Clipeum cristasque rubentes, Excipiam sorti."

delectus] In H. i. 70 British troops are mentioned with Galli and Lusitani as serving under Caecina, in the Vitellian war. A British levy of 8000 men is mentioned as forming a part of Vitellius' own division, after the battle of Bedriacum.

quantulum enim transisse] The Oratio directa of this would be 'quantulum militum transivit.' In the Oratio obliqua the indicative becomes the infinitive. Cf. A. i. 17, "Quando ausuros exposcere remedia?" A. ii. 2, "Ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum si mancipium Caesaris Parthis impe-

tum, si sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse jugum; et flumine, non Oceano, defendi: sibi patriam, conjuges, parentes; illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse: recessuros, ut divus Julius recessisset, modo virtutes majorum suorum aemularentur; neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, majorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Jam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent: jam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare: porro in ejusmodi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi, quam audere.

XVI. His atque talibus invicem instincti, Boudicea, generis regii femina, duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum: ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere, ut sedem servitutis: nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret: quam unius proelii fortuna veteri

ritet?" And A. xiii. 43, "Cur enim neminem alium delectum?" On the other hand, compare A. xiii. 49, "Cur enim tam levia consectaretur?" A. i. 19, "Cur contra morem obsequii vim meditentur?" Of these passages, in the former set, the verb of the Oratio directa would be in the third (or first) person; in the latter in the second. According to Madvig this settles the mood in the Oratio obliqua.

Germanias] This noun in the plural means Germania Inferior and Superior, on the left bank of the Rhine. Nevertheless, it is pretty clear from the words 'flumine defendi' that Germania Transrhenana is meant. The plural here may either be an error in the text, or it is used rhetorically, for the purpose of amplification.

divus Julius] This use of 'divus' in the mouth of savage Britons sounds oddly. Perhaps Tacitus forgot himself, and made the Britons speak through a Roman mouth. Wex suggests another explanation, quoting A. i. 59, "Quae quando exuerint, irritusque discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus." The Britons use the word contemptuously, and to point an à fortiori argument. If their deified Julius had to withdraw, much more will their inferior leaders. I believe the former view the true one.

relegatum in alia insula] Cf. A. ii. 82, "Erumpebant questus, ideo nimirum in extremas terras relegatum." Here, then, the construction is 'detinerent in alia insula (Mona) exercitum relegatum;' banished, as it were, by the providential anger of the gods against the Romans, out of compassion to the Britons.

quod difficillimum] Difficult, because, as he remarks in c. 12, it was a hard thing to induce the Britons to band together to resist a common aggressor.

patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quanquam egregius cetera, arroganter in deditos, et, ut suae quoque injuriae ultor, durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus, tanquam exorabilior: et delictis hostium novus, eoque poenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus, nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere jam barbari quoque ignoscere, vitiis blandientibus: et interventus civilium armorum praebuit justam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira, indecorus atque humilis precario mox praefuit: ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, et seditio sine sanguine stetit.

XVI. *suae quoque*] Paulinus regarded their revolt not merely as an offence against the state, but a personal affront, as their venturing to rebel was in some sort a proof of their contempt for him.

nullis castrorum experimentis] For this ablative of quality, cf. A. i. 19, 'Blaesus multa dicendi arte.'

curandi] 'Curare' is elsewhere used absolutely in the sense of governing. Cf. Sall. Jug. 60, 'Nam is in ea parte curabat.' 'Gubernare' and 'administrare' are used by Cicero in the same absolute way.

velut pacti] The ellipse here is 'sunt.' 'Velut' is used like ὥσπερ in Greek, Κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ ἀτραπός τις ἐκφέρειν ἡμᾶς, 'a pathway, so as to speak' (Plato, Phaedo, 66 B). Cf. Liv. iii. 34, "Quibus adjectis absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani juris." Also, xxiv. 2, "Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiae gentes."

The reading proposed by some, 'Velut pacti (essent) . . . . haec seditio,' &c., is apparently impossible; at all events, it is against the usage of Tacitus; for with a pure conditional final clause the ellipse of the verb is not found. There seem to be three cases where the subjunctive 'sit' or 'esset' can be omitted. First, when there are two clauses joined by a conjunction, and the verb of 'existence' can be supplied in some way from the second, as H. iv. 34, "Tentaverat interim Civilis obsessorum animos tanquam apud Romanos res, et suis victoria provenisset." A. i. 65, "Quum apud Romanos invalidi ignes, interruptae voces, atque ipsi adjacerent vallo." Secondly, if a particle has two or more verbs depending on it, without a conjunction, as A. i. 9, "Quod idem dies accepti quondam imperii princeps et vitae supremus; quod Nolae . . . vitam finivisset," which after all is very much akin to the first case. Thirdly, if the subjunctive is the Oratio obliqua of the indicative, as H. iii. 56, "Quis ordo agminis, quae cura explorandi, alios rogitans."

stetit] 'was checked.' Cf. H. iv. 67, "Sequanorum prospera acie belli impetus stetit." Also, A. iii. 72, "Tanquam labore vigilantiaque ejus tanta vis intra unum damnum stetisset."

Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina. Eadem inertia erga hostes, similis petulantia castrorum: nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus, caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII. Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit; magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes: et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus: multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. Et cum Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset, sustinuit quoque molem Julius Frontinus, vir magnus quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gen-

Vettius Bolanus] Statius regarded this general through a very distorted medium. Writing to the son, he says (Silv. v. 2. 142):

"Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos
Cum tibi longaevus referet trucis incola terrae,
Hic suetus dare thura parens; hoc cespite turmas
Affari; vigiles speculas, castellaque longe
Adspicis; ille dedit.
Cernis adhuc titulos: hunc ipse, vocantibus armis
Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno."

XVII. *recuperavit*] As 'recuperare' is used here, and not 'recipere,' Vespasian is spoken of as having recovered the Roman empire, previously lost, or held by those who had no right to it. He rescued it from the degradation it suffered in the hands of such men as Otho and Vitellius, and restored it to its former dignity. Cf. H. ii. 76, "A contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit post Vitellium eligi." Also, Suet. Vesp. 1, "Rebellione trium principum et caede incertum diu et quasi vagum imperium suscepit firmavitque tandem Flavia gens."

Brigantum] The Brigantes occupied the Northern parts of the island, from the Mersey and Humber to the Scottish border.

alterius successoris] I think this means, that although Cerialis would have endangered the reputation of any other successor, less distinguished than Frontinus, this last general did not lose by comparison with him, and bore, as well as the other, the laborious office of ruling Britain. Similarly Tacitus says, H. ii. 90, "Tanquam apud alterius civitatis senatum populumque magnificam orationem prompsit."

Julius Frontinus] He was Praetor Urbanus in A.D. 70, and perhaps Consul Suffectus in A.D. 74. Under Nerva he was made Curator Aquarum, and an augur. After his death his place in the Collegium was given to Pliny the Younger.

quantum licebat] This probably means that Vespasian threw some obstacles in the way of any further development of his great qualities in more extended conquests, either from motives of economy, or for other reasons.

tem armis subegit; super virtutem hostium, locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII. Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media jam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem, et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas, haud multo ante adventum ejus, alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat: eoque initio erecta provincia, et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum, ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agri-

Silurum gentem] The Silures occupied Hereford, Radnor, Brecknock, Monmouth, and Glamorgan.

eluctatus] Cf. H. iii. 59, "Vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus." 'Eluctari' is equivalent to 'eluctando superare,' and therefore governs the accusative, on the common principle of equivalent verbs taking the same cases. Tacitus uses 'enitor' (H. i. 23), 'evadere' (A. v. 10), 'elabor' (A. i. 61), 'egredior' (A. i. 30), 'exire' (A. vi. 49), with accusatives. Of these 'exire' is poetical, and occurs in Lucretius (vi. 1215), and Virgil (xi. 750). 'Evadere' and 'egredior' are common in other writers; 'enitor' and 'elabor' are rare, and almost, if not quite, peculiar to Tacitus.

XVIII. *ad securitatem, &c.*] 'while the soldiers betook themselves to careless enjoyment, and the enemy to profit by the opportunity.' Of course there is no zeugma here. 'Ad securitatem verti' is said if any thing more properly than 'ad occasionem verti;' and the verb must be close to the word, in any instance of zeugma, to which it is appropriate. 'Verti' seems almost equivalent to 'animum vertere ad aliquid.' Cf. H. v. 11, 'Romani ad oppugnandum versi,' in the sense of turning their attention to a siege, as the context shows.

Ordovicum civitas] The Ordovices occupied the district between Cardigan Bay and the river Dee; viz. the counties of Denbigh, Flint, Caernarvon, Merioneth, and Montgomery.

alam in finibus suis agentem] The 'ala' was a squadron of allied cavalry serving in the Roman army.

For the absolute use of 'agere,' meaning 'to be quartered,' compare H. i. 74, "Easque quae Lugduni agebant copias;" and A. ii. 17, "Agnitum a Chaucis inter auxilia Romana agentibus.' The ellipse is 'praesidium;' the full phrase, 'praesidium agitare,' occurring in H. iii. 12.

quibus bellum volentibus erat] This is a construction in imitation of a usual Greek one. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 46, Καὶ τῷ μὲν Νικίᾳ προσδεχομένῳ ἦν τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἐγεσταίων. Tacitus uses it more than once, as "Maturo ceterisque remanere et in verba Vespasiani volentibus erat" (H. iii. 43); and "Ut quibusque bellum invitis aut cupientibus erat" (A. i. 59). Sallust, like Tacitus, an imitator of the Greek writers, has the same construction. Cf. Sall. Jug. 84, and 100. Also Liv. xxi. 50.

probare exemplum] 'To approve of the precedent, and only to wait (before following it) to ascertain the character of the new governor.' Pliny the Elder uses 'probare' in the sense of testing, in such phrases as 'probare denarios,' 'tus probatur candore,' &c. Possibly Tacitus may mean here 'to test the precedent,' i.e. to see what result it had: if good, to join it; if bad, to stand aloof.

cola, quanquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit: contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset, erexit aciem: caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae, ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, cujus possessione

sparsi per provinciam numeri] 'Numerus' is used for a body of soldiers of any magnitude. Cf. H. i. 6, and 87. Suetonius (Vesp. 6) has 'Vocatis ad numerum officiis.' 'Numeri legionum' are therefore the maniples, cohorts, &c

tarda et contraria] These words are in apposition to the previous sentence, 'all points adverse,' &c. Cf. A. xvi. 8, "Praeficeretque rationibus et libellis et epistolis libertos, inania simul et falsa." So in Euripides' line Ἑλένην κτανῶμεν Μενελέῳ λύπην πικράν.

custodiri suspecta potius videbatur] This ought not to be translated 'Most were rather of opinion that the suspected points should be watched,' as though 'custodiri' were put for 'custodienda esse.' 'Potius' is really an adjective, not an adverb; and the sentence means, 'it seemed a better plan for the suspected points to be watched.'

contractisque legionum vexillis] There is considerable doubt as to the exact meaning of these words. The common view is that the 'vexilla' consisted of the veterans who, after a certain length of service, were released from their oath, but retained until their full discharge under a 'vexillum,' free from the usual military duties, but called into service on special emergencies. Cf. A. i. 36, "Exauctorari qui sena dena (stipendia) fecissent, ac retineri sub vexillo, immunes nisi propulsandi hostis." There would be a certain number of these (perhaps 500, from A. iii. 21) attached to each legion, and they might act independently of their own legions, or several 'vexilla' be joined together, as in H. ii. 83. It does not however follow that 'vexilla' are the same as 'vexillarii.' It may denote bodies of troops detached from their own legions, and serving apart from them when occasion required. Certainly such phrases as 'vexillum tironum' and 'equitum' (A. ii. 78, and H. ii. 11), and 'vexilla delectorum' (A. xv. 26), seem to favour this view. I am inclined to think that when Tacitus uses 'vexillum' without any explanation, as 'vexilla legionum,' 'tertiae decumae legionis vexillum,' &c., he alludes to the veteran soldiers first mentioned. When he does not mean these, he adds some explanation, such as 'tironum,' 'equitum,' &c. to show that he is speaking of other bodies of men under a flag.

erexit aciem] 'Erigere' is used of marching troops up hill. Cf. Liv. i. 27, 'Erigit totam aciem,' and iii. 18, 'In clivum Capitolinum erigunt aciem.'

prout prima cessissent, &c.] This is a favourite remark of Tacitus. He repeats it H. ii. 20, "Gnarus ut initia belli provenissent, famam in cetera fore;" and A. xii. 31, "Ille gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni."

revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. Sed, ut in dubiis consiliis, naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis, lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente immisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui naves, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita pace ac dedita insula, clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem aut officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola, prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat,

cujus possessione revocatum] After 'revocari' Cicero always uses a preposition, 'a' or 'ab.' Tacitus omits the preposition, as he does in the case of verbs compounded of 're,' like 'remeare,' when followed by a noun of place: 'remearis Syria,' &c. In these two respects he follows poetical usage, copying Virgil's 'Acie revocaveris ambo,' and Horace's 'retortis littore Etrusco violenter undis.'

'Possessio' is used in a double sense by Tacitus, as coming from 'possideo,' 'to retain possession,' and 'possido,' 'to get possession.' The latter sense is the one here, as in A. ii. 5, "At si mare intretur promptam ipsis possessionem."

dubiis consiliis] Owing to the dubious results of warlike operations generally, Agricola was not able to lay his plans with any certainty beforehand. When the moment of action arrived, therefore, he found his means inadequately provided. If he had been able to map out his intended operations with perfect certainty, he would have had ships ready.

quibus nota vada] These could hardly have been the Batavian auxiliaries (H. iv. 12, and A. ii. 8), although they served in Britain; for they would scarcely have been acquainted with the British fords. They must, I think, be native troops, serving in the Roman army, as Tacitus mentions in c. 29. 31. Wex remarks, that if they were Britons, the Britons of Mona could not be said to be astounded at their proceedings. They might, I suppose, be equally astounded at being taken in an unexpected quarter, whether the assailants were foreigners or their own countrymen.

qui mare exspectabant] 'who expected a sea attack.' The assault made by fording the shallows did not seem a sea fight, so much as an attack by land, because they expected the enemy to make his appearance on the Western or Northern coast of the island.

officiorum ambitum] Suetonius describes Tiberius (c. 12), while in retirement at Rhodes, as avoiding 'praeter navigantium officia.' Titus (H. v. 1) is said by his courtesy and affability 'provocare officia.' 'Officia' therefore are the usual complimentary visits, ceremonial addresses, and the like, made to a new magistrate on taking possession of his government.

in vanitatem usus] 'Vanus' means any thing unreal, unsubstantial, as

victos continuisse: ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est: sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX. Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta, parum profici armis si injuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidère. A se suisque orsus primum domum suam coercuit; quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam provinciam regere. Nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei: non studiis privatis, nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionum milites ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare: omnia scire, non omnia exsequi: parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare: nec poena semper, sed saepius poenitentia

in Livy's phrase, 'Ad vanum et irritum redacta victoria est.' Hence it means, by a natural consequence, 'untrue,' as 'Vanus auctor absumpti Masinissae.' 'Vanitas' is therefore opposed by Cicero to 'veritas.' It then implies the habit of doing or saying any thing, irrespective of its truth, to bring oneself into notice. Cf. H. iii. 73, "Umbra honoris et suamet vanitate monstratum, quod edicta in populum pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa adversus Vitellium jecerat." This is the sense here. Agricola did not make his success the ground of big talk about himself to attract notice. This is somewhat different from our word 'vanity,' which in its present use has the notion of priding oneself on one's advantages, personal or otherwise, without any idea of falseness attached to it,—an idea which lies at the root of 'vanitas.'

ne laureatis quidem] Pliny (xv. 40) mentions the custom of sending home despatches wreathed with laurel on the announcement of victory. Cf. Liv. v. 28, "Litterae Postumio laureatae sequuntur, victoriam Populi Romani esse." Tacitus uses 'laurea' in the same way: "Ipse lauream gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit" (H. iii. 77). Cf. Suet. Domit. 6.

XIX. *Nihil per libertos &c.*] Understand 'agere,' and see Germ. 19, on 'melius quidem adhuc.'

milites ascire] I think this sentence on the face of it gives an unmistakeable impression of referring to military promotion in its common meaning, not the promotion of soldiers to offices about the governor's establishment, such as the posts of the 'scribae,' 'accensi,' 'lictores,' &c., according to the view of Wex. 'Ascire' seems used absolutely in the sense of 'to promote;' either supernumeraries ('ascripticii') to the ranks, or men from the allied cohorts to the legionary troops.

fidissimum putare] Another reading here is 'fidelissimum.' The difference between the two words is said to be as follows: 'Fidus' is a man whose attachment to one's cause or person can be relied on; 'fidelis' is a man trustworthy in the discharge of duties committed to him. An army is called 'fidus' to its leader; a slave would be 'fidelis' to his master. However, this distinction is often neglected.

non omnia exsequi] 'Exsequi' in this sense is found in Livy, and is common in later writers. Cicero's word is 'persequi.'

severitatem commodare] There

contentus esse: officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur: namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur: devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates a proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec, quod omnibus in promptu erat, paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX. Haec primo statim anno comprimendo, egregiam famam paci circumdedit: quae vel incuria vel intolerantia

does not necessarily seem any zeugma here. 'Commodare' is used by the writers of the age of Tacitus very much in the sense of giving, assigning,—a meaning which suits the first clause as well as the second.

clausis horreis &c.] This is a very difficult passage, of which I think the explanation is as follows: The corn was the 'frumentum in cellam' or 'aestimatum,' provided by the provincials at a fixed rate for the use of the governor and troops. This the Britons would have supplied easily, if the Roman agents had not first secured in some way or other all the corn in any given neighbourhood, and stored it in their own granaries, kept closed ('clausis horreis'). When the Britons had to supply the corn, there was none forthcoming, except from the Roman stores. Consequently, they were forced to buy their corn at the Roman granaries, subjected during the negotiation to all kinds of insults, the granaries being open only at stated times ('adsidere per ludibrium'). The Britons were moreover compelled to pay an enormous price for their corn, being made to bid one against the other, to run up the value ('ludere pretio'). After purchasing it, they had to resell it to the Romans, as 'frumentum aestimatum,' at the low fixed price.

Besides this there was a second wrong done them. They were ordered to supply the corn at some distant quarter: to avoid the enormous expense and difficulty of transit, they found themselves compelled to buy corn in the manner stated in the locality where it had to be supplied to the government.

ut civitates . . . in remota &c.] Cicero accuses Verres (iii. 82) of the same thing: "Avariores magistratus instituerunt semper in ultima ac difficillima ad portandum loca frumentum imperare, ut vecturae difficultate ad quam vellent aestimationem pervenirent." This proceeding, however, was not actually illegal, as the magistrates were allowed to fix the place where the corn was to be delivered.

quod omnibus in promptu &c.] 'That of which there was really abundance at hand (if they had been allowed to arrange the matter fairly), was turned into a source of gain to a few (Roman officials).'

XX. *famam paci circumdedit*] A similar phrase occurs H. iv. 11, "Qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdarent;" and in the dialogue de Orat. 37, "Hanc illi famam circumdederunt." It seems an imitation of the Greek: Μὴ πρὸς

priorum, haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu, multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disjectos coërcere: loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetentare: et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quominus subitis excursibus popularetur: atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus inritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars.

θεῶν μοι περιβάλῃς ἀνανδρίαν (Orest. 1031); and *Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε*, Thucyd. vi. 89.

intolerantia] The word is here used passively, as in Suetonius (Tib. 51), 'Acerbitate et intolerantia morum,' manners others could not tolerate. Sometimes it is used actively for the incapacity to tolerate any thing; as Cic. pro Cluent. 40, "Quis enim cum illa superbia atque intolerantia ferre potuisset?"

multus in agmine] Sc. 'esse.' The phrase is used of any one who shows himself frequently on the line of march, first here, and then there. Cf. Sall. Jug. 96, 'In agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse.' 'Multus' is also used in the sense of 'vigorous;' cf. Sall. Jug. 84, who copied the Greek use of *πολύς*, in such phrases as *πολὺς ἐνέκειτο*, *πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται*, *ὅταν πολὺς ὁ θεὸς ἔλθῃ*, &c.

loca castris ipse capere] Agricola seems to have marched from Mona through the Western side of England to the Scottish border, or, according to some, to the Frith of Forth, although the former seems more likely. There are still traces of Roman encampments visible along the route Agricola apparently took Northwards.

aestuaria] These estuaries would be the Dee, Ribble, and Solway Friths. By 'aestuaria praetentare' Tacitus means that Agricola ascertained whether the estuaries were fordable. Cf. A. ii. 8, "Prima aestuaria nondum adcrescente unda intrepidi transiere."

quominus ... popularetur] The subject of the verb here is 'Agricola;' he gave them no rest from ravaging their country. This is much better than translating it, 'he allowed the enemy no rest, to prevent his laying waste the Roman camp by sudden inroads,' which makes it necessary to supply 'hostis' from 'apud hostes.'

ex aequo egerant] Cf. H. iv. 64, "Integer, et servitutis oblitus populus, aut ex aequo agetis aut aliis imperabitis." The states in question had remained independent, and not been conquered or enslaved by the Romans.

ut nulla ante &c.] The old editions read, 'ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars illacessita transierit,' in which I do not see any sense. By ending with 'nova pars,' and making 'inlacessita transiit' refer to the 'sequens hiems,' the passage becomes intelligible. The only point unusual is the combination of 'tanta ... ut' in the sense of 'so great as.' Cicero, however, has something of the sort: "Nunquam tamen neque tantum periculum mihi adire visus sum neque tanto opere pertimui ut nunc in ipso judicio;" and "Est alienum

XXI. Inlacessita transiit sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta: namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque in bellum faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent: inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga: paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII. Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes

tanto viro ut es tu." Cornelius Nepos too has "Tanta modestia dicto audiens fuit ut si privatus esset."

XXI. *in bellum faciles*] 'easily moved to war.' The old reading is 'in bello faciles,' which need not mean, as Walch supposes it must, 'good-natured in war.' Titus is said by Suetonius to have been 'in fingendis poematibus facilis;' therefore the phrase might be 'ready, energetic in war.' However, the other reading and meaning are better, as most contrasted with 'quieti et otio.'

templa, &c.] A Roman temple, now called Arthur's Oon, or Oven, near the Carron, in Stirlingshire, is said to have been built by Agricola.

Tacitus generally uses 'domos,' when he speaks of buildings; 'domus,' when he means families or households. Cf. H. iii. 41, "Quominus adulteriisque ac stupris polluere hospitum domus crederetur."

honoris aemulatio &c.] 'rivalry in obtaining distinction took the place of compulsion.'

filios . . . erudire] This seems to have been a usual policy with the Romans. Augustus (Suet. Octav. 48) often educated the sons of allied or tributary kings. The result of the policy would naturally be to secure friends to the Roman interest when these princes ascended their own thrones. Cf. A. xi. 16; xii. 10.

ingenia Britannorum &c.] 'he used to express his belief in the superiority of the natural talents of the Britons over the laboriously acquired attainments of the Gauls.' Agricola believed the Briton to be the naturally cleverer man; the Gaul to have improved his scantier talents by greater care.

eloquentiam concupiscerent] Juvenal (xv. 116) jokes about the spread of Roman learning:

"Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos;
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule."

Martial (xi. 3) speaks of his verses as well known in Britain. "Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus."

porticus, et balnea] Boudicea, in Dion Cassius, expresses a thorough contempt for the Romans, as men who bathe in hot water. There were public baths all over Britain, as at Epeiacum (Lanchester), Coccium (Ribchester). Lavatrae (Bowes).

aperuit, vastatis usque ad Taum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus: qua formidine territi hostes, quanquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum, lacessere non ausi: ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti, non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse: nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum. Crebrae eruptiones: nam adversus moras obsidionis, annuis copiis firmabantur: ita intrepida ibi hiems et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare, tum aestate atque hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola unquam per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio, seu praefectus, incor-

A 'basilica' for riding is mentioned in an inscription: "Basilicam equestrem exercitoriam jampridem a solo coeptam aedificavit consummavitque."

XXII. *ad Taum*] The Frith of Tay. There is a reading 'ad Tanaum.' Wex supposes this to be the Estuary of the Tyne; others the Tweed; but these are evidently too far South. There seems a want of clearness about the conquests and proceedings of the several years of Agricola's command. In the second year, he appears to have reached the Scottish borders; in the third, he found his way 'usque ad Taum;' in the fourth year, Tacitus describes him as consolidating his conquests, and establishing forts across the Isthmus, between the Friths of Forth and Clyde; in the fifth year, he advances beyond this line of forts, amongst nations 'unknown to that time.' Probably Tacitus intends us to understand that Agricola only hastily overran the Eastern part of Caledonia, beyond the Forth to the Tay, and then retired, securing at first only so much of the country as lay South of the Forth, and reserving to another year the permanent conquest of all North of it.

Adnotabant periti] The same phrase occurs A. xii. 25, and H. iii. 37, 'periti' being merely equivalent to competent judges, and taking its precise meaning, whether skilful in military tactics, or skilful in jurisprudence, from the context.

nam adversus &c.] The Roman garrison in the forts were able to make frequent sallies, because as they were thoroughly supplied with provisions ('annuis copiis'), the enemy thought it useless to attempt a blockade on the chance of starving them out. They were therefore left unmolested. One of these forts was at Ardoch probably in Perthshire, where extensive remains have been found, and still, I believe, exist. This particular fort is said to be in a very commanding position, and to fully justify the eulogium on Agricola's skill in choosing his sites.

inritis hostibus] 'the enemy being baffled.' Cf. A. iii. 21, "Inritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur."

praefectus] These 'praefecti' are often mentioned with 'tribuni' (H. iv. 78), 'legati' (H. iii. 19), and 'centurions' (H. iv. 14). They held the same position in the auxiliary troops of the allies as the tribunes in the legionaries. There were six

ruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur: ut erat bonis comis, ita adversus malos injucundus; ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat: secretum et silentium ejus non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

XXIII. Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percurrerat, insumpta: ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Nam Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur, quod tum praesidiis firmabatur: atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

of these last officers to a legion (whence χιλίαρχος is the Greek term for tribune), and probably six 'praefects' in the corresponding force of allies.

secretum et silentium ejus] Tacitus, one would think, is here contrasting Agricola with Domitian, who was just at this very time raised to the imperial throne. Of him he remarks, c. 39, "Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus," &c. 'Secretum' here, as in c. 39, means a moody brooding over any thing.

XXIII. *obtinendis quae percurrerat*] 'Obtinere' is 'to continue holding,' 'to maintain;' as in Liv. i. 16, "Romana pubes maestum silentium obtinebat." Agric. 24, "Debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse." The sentence therefore means, 'The fourth summer was spent in permanently taking measures to maintain ground which before he had only run over.'

si virtus ... pateretur] This is not quite the same thing as if Tacitus had written 'passa fuisset.' This last reading would mean 'if the bravery of our armies had then permitted.' The reading in the text speaks not of a single time, but makes a general hypothesis, 'If the bravery of our armies could ever allow such a thing.' Agricola had before crossed the Bodotria towards the Tay. Afterwards passing the Clota, he turned Westwards.

in ipsa Britannia ... Nam &c.] By 'Britain itself,' he means Britain on this side of the Friths; for owing to the distance inland these estuaries penetrate, the all but isolated country north of them may be regarded as a different island.

revectae] Tacitus speaks of the Clota and Bodotria as 'carried back,' because the waters of these river mouths on their discharge into the Ocean, on the Western and Eastern coasts ('diversi maris'), are driven back by the sea waves, and made to retrace their course inland. Cf. Pliny (Epist. iv. 30), "Ut flumina quae in mare deferuntur, adversantibus ventis obvioque aestu retorquentur."

atque omnis propior sinus] This means the whole shore, with its projecting nooks, in the vicinity of the Isthmus, East and West, on its Southern or English side. A wall, called Graham's Dyke, of which remains exist, was built by Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus, no doubt on pretty much the same line as Agricola's, from old Kirkpatrick on the Clyde to Abercorn on the Frith of Forth.

XXIV. Quinto expeditionum anno, nave prima transgressus, ignotas ad id tempus gentes crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit: eamque partem Britanniae, quae Hiberniam aspicit, copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem: siquidem Hibernia, medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum coelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt: melius aditus portusque per com-

XXIV. *nave prima*] It is not very clear what this expression means. It can hardly imply that Agricola wintered at Rome, and returned to Britain by the earliest ship on the opening of navigation after the winter. On the whole I think it means that he crossed the Clota estuary (for the Bodotria had been crossed before), and was himself in the leading ship.

ignotas ad id . . . gentes] As Agricola crossed the Clota, these tribes would be those who occupied Renfrew, Cunningham, Carrick.

quae Hiberniam aspicit] The only parts of Scotland, I believe, whence Ireland can be seen are Galloway and Cantire; but Tacitus simply means here the part which looks towards, or is in the direction of Ireland.

in spem magis &c.] Rather, that is, to pave the way for what he hoped to effect subsequently, than because he was alarmed for its safety.

medio inter Britanniam] This is explained by c. 10. It does not, therefore, at all follow that Ireland was placed by Tacitus South of England. He might, and probably did, know its true relative position compared to Britain, and yet describe it as he does.

valentissimam imperii partem] Gaul, Spain, and Britain are thus designated, because large armies were stationed there, and the forces of the empire reinforced thence by the bravest recruits. Cf. H. iii. 53, "Suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque validissimam terrarum partem." 'Miscuerit' ('*μίξειεν ἄν*, si expugnata fuerit,' Wex) is difficult to translate: 'Would unite in intercourse with itself the strongest portions of the empire, with great mutual advantages.' The advantage to Ireland would be the civilization derived from Rome, to the other countries the opening of new sources of traffic, and the drawing recruits thence.

ingenia . . . a Britannia differunt] This is a very common ellipse in Latin and Greek. Cf. Theoc. ii. 16, *Φάρμακα ταῦθ' ἔρδοισα χερείονα μήτε τι Κίρκης*. Propert i. 9. 11, "Plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero." The English idiom of course requires a different turn.

melius aditus &c.] The old reading is 'in melius cogniti,' which it seems impossible to construe in any such way as to make sense. 'Melius cogniti' can hardly mean, as some take it, 'known better than those of Britain;' for such was not the case. The words, I think, are added, because the preceding clause, 'ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum differunt,' being a vague account, may imply that Tacitus did not possess the means of giving more particular information. The coast and harbours were, however, more accurately and definitely known than the habits of the people.

mercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi, legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse. Idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma, et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV. Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium, et infesta hostilis exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit: quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium, sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe iisdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles, mixti copiis et laetitia, sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent: ac modo silvarum et mon-

in occasionem retinebat] Agricola kept the chief to make a pretext out of him for meddling in the affairs of Ireland. In much the same way Claudius harboured Bericus, and at his instigation, under pretence of restoring him, invaded Britain.

debellari] This compound answers to the Greek *καταπολεμεῖσθαι*, to be warred down, or completely subjugated.

XXV. *amplexus*] The ellipse is 'bello,' or 'castellis,' or a similar word. Cf. c. 17, "Magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello." The region so embraced was Fife, Perth, Angus, and the Eastern side of the Highlands.

infesta hostilis exercitus itinera] If this reading be correct, the genitive depends on 'itinera,' and 'hostilis exercitus' is used of a hostile army generally, and incidentally here, of the Roman army. Agricola was afraid lest the routes that any attacking force, and therefore his own army must take, should be beset. 'Infesta' is used in the sense of 'infestata,' as in A. ii. 23, "insulas abruptis saxis aut per occulta vada infestas." An easier reading is 'exercitui hostili;' but this is more like the correction of a copyist trying his hand on conjectural emendation. The words from 'quia' to 'timebantur' give the reason why Agricola was accompanied by his fleet. He did not venture to march directly inland over the Isthmus, for fear of being entangled amidst hostile tribes, without any support. He probably, therefore, kept within a moderate distance of the Eastern shore, and his fleet coasted along at the same time, so that in case of extremity he could receive provisions or succours, or retire on ship-board.

mixti copiis] This is a curious expression, not however uncommonly found. Those whose provisions, &c., were enjoyed in common, are said to be mixed with the provisions, &c. So in H. i. 9, "Exercitus nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur," their vices and strength were not mutually imparted by one to the other. Also, A. xi. 24, "(Galli) jam moribus, artibus, adfinitatibus nostris mixti."

tium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari jactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tanquam, aperto maris sui secreto, ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, majore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum, ut provocantes, addiderant: regrediendumque citra Bodotriam, et excedendum potius quam pellerentur, ignavi specie prudentium admonebant: cum interim cognoscit, hostes pluribus agminibus inrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tres partes exercitu incessit.

XXVI. Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio, universi nonam legionem, ut maxime invalidam,

aperto . . . clauderetur] Either as Wex, I think, justly observes, this is rather careless writing from the incongruity of ideas in 'aperto' and 'clauderetur,' or it is a poor conceit.

oppugnare ultro] The reading of nearly all the MSS. is 'oppugnasse ultro,' which it seems impossible to translate in any probable manner. In the text 'oppugnare' depends on 'adorti.' Cf. Liv. vi. 2, 'Castra oppugnare adortus est;' and there are many instances of this construction.

Traces of these forts are still visible in Perth and Fife, for they were not those between the two Friths.

'Ultro,' in Tacitus, is often a difficult word to translate. Its meaning can best be learned by looking at one or two passages where it occurs. H. i. 71, "Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus, exemplum ultro imputavit;" that is, 'Celsus was so far from thinking his fidelity to Galba in need of excuse, that, turning the tables on those who might have been ready to accuse him, he made a merit of it.' A. vi. 30, "Dum Lentulo Gaetulico periculum facessit, ultro damnatur." While endeavouring to imperil another, he found the tables turned, and himself in danger. A. vi. 31, "Non despectum id apud barbaros, ultroque potentiam habet." It is not looked down on by the barbarians; indeed, the reverse is true: it brings influence with it. From these passages the force of 'ultro' is clearly seen, and how it differs from 'sponte,' which is simply opposed to 'invitus.'

potius quam pellerentur] 'Potius' is constructed here like 'prius.' Cf. Sall. Jug. 106, "Mansurum potius quam morbo interiturae vitae parceret." Also, A. i. 35, "Ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret clamitans."

XXVI. *ut maxime invalidam*] This ninth legion was the one defeated under the command of P. Cerialis, by the Britons, while Paulinus was absent in Wales. They were afterwards recruited by legionaries from Germany, although their ranks were probably only partially filled (A. xiv. 32. 38). The

nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus, inrupere. Jamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola, iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus, et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium jubet, mox ab universis adjici clamorem: et propinqua luce fulsere signa: ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni: et Romanis redit animus; ac securi pro salute, de gloria certabant: ultro quin etiam erupere: et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes: utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur: quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

XXVII. Cujus conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus, nihil virtuti suae invium: penetrandam Caledoniam, inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum, continuo proeliorum cursu, fremebant: atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes, prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. At Britanni non virtute, sed occasione et arte ducis rati, nihil ex adrogan-

site of this battle is placed by Gordon in the county of Fife, where there is still a Roman camp to be traced at a place called Loch-ore, not far from Loch-leven. To the South of this place is a large morass, whence tree-roots are dug in large numbers. This agrees very well with the remark at the end of the chapter, that marshes and woods alone saved the Caledonians.

fulsere signa] 'Signa' is used in Tacitus in two ways. Here, as often, it means standards generally. Especially it is put for the ensigns of the allied cohorts; the proper word for those of the legionary cohorts being 'vexilla.' When the two are mentioned together (H. iv. 15) 'signa' and 'vexilla' designate the standards of the allies and legionaries respectively.

securi pro salute, de gloria] So H. iv. 58, "Nunquam apud vos verba feci, aut pro vobis sollicitior aut pro me securior." The Romans fought to obtain new glory; 'pro gloria' would be in defence of the glory they possessed already. Cf. Liv. xxi. 41, "Non de possessione Siciliae et Sardiniae de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis est pugnandum."

XXVII. *Cujus conscientia &c.*] 'The army, inspirited by an inward feeling of pride at their success, and the fame resulting from it,' &c. Some of the editors have 'constantia,' which would mean the firmness displayed in gaining this victory.

illi modo cauti] These are the people referred to in c. 25, as advising the evacuation of the district beyond Bodotria.

non virtute, sed occasione] 'not considering (the event) to have occurred from the bravery (of the

tia remittere, quominus juventutem armarent, conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent: atque ita inritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII. Eadem aestate cohors Usipiorum, per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa, magnum ac memorabile facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis, exemplum et rectores habebantur, tres liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere: et uno remigante, suspectis duobus, eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore, ut miraculum praevehebantur: mox hac atque illa rapti, cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi, ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur: atque circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suevis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt: ac fuere, quos per commercia venumdatos

Romans), but the adroitness and skill of the general.' Nevertheless, this is an awkwardly worded sentence, and Ritter's conjecture of 'superati' improves matters very considerably.

discessum] That is, Agricola withdrew beyond the fortified Isthmus between Clota and Bodotria, and there, defended by his chain of forts, went into winter-quarters. The Britons, of course, on their side retired also.

XXVIII. *cohors Usipiorum*] This was very likely a part of the force stationed by Agricola in the district mentioned in c. 24 as looking towards Ireland, i. e. Carrick, &c. They started from this part of the island, and sailing by the western part of Scotland, and rounding the northern extremity (περιέπλευσαν τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν αὐτῆς is Dion Cassius' account), entered the German Ocean. They were carried past their own home in Germany, and stranded, some near the Elbe, where the Suevi would seize them, and some near the Ems, thus falling into the hands of the Frisii.

et uno remigante] This is a very obscure passage. 'Remigare,' 'to pull at the oar,' can hardly be put for steering. Besides, if there had been even one competent pilot, one would scarcely think that all three ships would have been lost 'per inscitiam regendi.' Perhaps the crews killed two of the pilots on well-grounded suspicion, and entertaining vague doubts of the want of good faith in the case of the third, put him to work at the oar.

praevehebantur] This is put for 'praetervehebantur.' Cf. H. ii. 2, 'Oram Achaiae praevectus ac laeva maris.'

mox sorte ductos vescerentur] 'Vesci' is used by Phaedrus, Tibullus, and Pliny with an accusative. Perhaps the ablative 'sorte' induced Tacitus to avoid another, by putting the accusative.

et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos, indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

XXIX. Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus anno ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque, ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac moerorem muliebriter tulit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Grampium pervenit, quem jam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni, nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut servitium exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. Jamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis juventus, et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello, ac sua quisque decora gestantes: cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans, nomine Calgacus, apud contractam

in nostram usque ripam] The left or western bank of the Rhine.

XXIX. *Initio aestatis*] This, no doubt, means the following summer. At the end of c. 27, the words 'irritatis utrimque animis discessum' imply apparently the end of that year's campaign. The incident of the Usipian adventure is only an episode added as a matter of interest, but not forming any part of the continuous narrative of the warlike operations carried on by Agricola.

ambitiose] With a view to gain glory from the display of philosophical Stoicism in bearing sorrow.

per lamenta rursus] 'Rursus' is here our 'again,' in the sense of 'on the other hand.' Cf. A. i. 80, "Neque enim eminentis virtutes sectabatur, et rursus vitia oderat." Also, H. i. 1, "Libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantes."

expedito exercitu] The army was in light marching order, because the baggage, provisions, &c., were on board the fleet in advance.

ad montem Grampium] These are the Grampian Hills, extending from Dumbarton on the Clyde to Aberdeenshire. Gordon makes the place of battle near the Kirk of Comerie. There is a plain here a mile broad, and several miles long, on which is a large Roman encampment, divided into two parts, each surrounded by a double bank, with a ditch between them. One of these encampments is just large enough, according to his calculation, founded on Polybius' rule, for 8000 men. In the other, he supposes 3000 cavalry to have been posted. This place is still called Galdachan, or Galdachan Ross Moor.

cruda ac viridis] Tacitus probably had in his mind Virgil's account of Charon (Aen. vi. 304), 'Sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.'

sua quisque decora] This seems to mean any thing in the way of ornament of whatever kind, whether 'torques,' or 'armillae,' or superiorly ornamented weapons.

Calgacus] This word is said to be

multitudinem, proelium poscentem, in hunc modum locutus fertur.

XXX. "Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est, hodiernum diem, consensumque vestrum, initium libertatis totius Britanniae fore. Nam et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae, ac ne mare quidem securum, imminente nobis classe Romana: ita proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant: quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae, eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti, nec servientium litora aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. Nos, terrarum ac libertatis extremos, recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit: nunc terminus Britanniae patet: atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est.

a Romanized form of 'Gald Cachah,' 'Gald, the fighter of battles;' just as an Argyll duke was called John Du Nan Cach, Black-haired John, the battle-fighter.

XXX. *causas belli &c.*] The motives for the war are our determination to drive away slavery from Caledonia: our necessity, the fact that we are driven into a corner by the avarice and thirst for power displayed by the Romans, from which we have no escape.

in nostris manibus] Tacitus means that the Britons, when defeated in previous battles, always had the Caledonians to fall back on as a kind of reserve. Now the reserve itself was going into action.

eoque in ipsis penetralibus] Cf. Caes. v. 12, "Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoriae proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant." The last, inhabitants of the coast opposite Gallia and Belgica, might be said to have their eyes accustomed to the sight of slavery.

terrarum ac libertatis extremos] They were situated at the edge of the habitable world, and were the last remnant not yet enslaved by Rome.

recessus ipse ac sinus famae] 'Sinus' seems used here in the same way as in Cicero's phrase, "in philosophiae sinum quum nostra voluntas studiumque nos compulisset." Calgacus represents Fame as cherishing the Caledonians, like petted children, in her lap. They had up to this time been secure from aggression for two reasons; first, because they dwelt in a remote corner of the earth, and were hard to get at ('recessus ipse'); and, secondly, because Fame had made much of them, and bruited abroad their bravery, to the terror of aggressors. Lipsius explains 'sinus famae' to be 'the corner of fame,' meaning that the people in their distant fastnesses were little known to fame. But the Caledonians, one would think, would hardly thus describe themselves.

omne ignotum &c.] Cf. Thucyd. vi. 11, Τὰ γὰρ διὰ πλείστου πάντες ἴσμεν θαυμαζόμενα καὶ τὰ πεῖραν ἥκιστα τῆς δόξης δόντα.

Sed nulla jam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa et infestiores Romani: quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium et modestiam effugeris: raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari: si pauper, ambitiosi: quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium, opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt: auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus, imperium; atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

XXXI. "Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per delectus, alibi servituri, auferuntur: conjuges sororesque etsi hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager et annus in frumentum: corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conterunt.

Sed nulla jam ultra gens] The connexion of the sentence here introduced by 'sed,' with what goes before, is not very clear. Ritter supposes 'atque . . . . . magnifico est' to be an interpolation,—an easy method of getting rid of the difficulty. I think the matter may be explained in this way. The Latin writers use 'sed' to resume a narrative which has been interrupted by the introduction of some extraneous or secondary matter. For instance, in A. i. 74, Tacitus mentions that G. Marcellus was accused by his own Quaestor, seconded by Hispo. Hereupon he digresses for a few lines, to give a short account of the man, and the precedent he set; then he resumes the thread of the history by saying 'Sed Marcellum insimulabat.' So here, Tacitus remarked before, 'nullae ultra terrae &c.;' then comes a sort of digression, lasting through some sentences; after this he resumes the main idea, 'Sed nulla jam &c.'

raptores orbis, &c.] The commentators quote a fragment of Sallust in illustration of this, worth reading. "An ignoras Romanos . . . . . . arma huc convertisse, neque quidquam a principio nisi raptum habere, domum conjuges agros imperium; quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant quin socios, amicos procul juxtaque sitos, inopes potentesque trahant excidant?"

XXXI. *alibi servituri*] Cf. H. i. 70, "Praemissis Gallorum Lusitanorumque et Britannorum cohortibus." Also, H. ii. 57, "Ipse e Britannico delectu octo milia sibi adjunxit."

in tributum] The money tribute levied on the Britons. The corn mentioned here is not tithe corn, frequently imposed on conquered nations, for the Britons did not pay it, but the corn 'in cellam' or 'aestimatum,' contributed for the support of the Roman government, staff, and army.

emuniendis] 'Munire vias' is to construct roads divided into separate portions, each for its own gang of workers. Therefore 'silvas ac paludes emunire' is 'to construct elaborate roads through woods and bogs.'

inter verbera ac contumelias] Some of the editors read 'verbera inter ac contumelias,' a position of 'inter' not uncommon. Liv. xxii. 3, 'Campi qui

Nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est: sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu, novi nos et viles in excidium petimur. Neque enim arva nobis, aut metalla, aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subjectorum ingrata imperantibus: et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum, quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae, tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus, quam quibus gloria carissima est. Trinobantes, femina duce, exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac, nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere jugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti, et libertatem non in poenitentiam laturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit."

XXXII. "An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem, quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dis-

Faesulas inter Arretiumque jacent.' A. ii. 61, 'disjectas inter et vix pervias arenas.' Tacitus uses many prepositions after their nouns; 'intra,' 'super,' 'extra,' 'ultra,' 'penes,' 'propter,' 'juxta,' 'apud,' 'ad,' are all so placed.

ultro a dominis aluntur] 'Ultro' is used here in its usual way, with reference to the main idea of the sentence. Slaves, commonly, so far from having to keep their masters, are kept and fed by them. The Britons reverse the usual relation, and keep their masters.

quotidie emit, *quotidie pascit*] The Briton pays the price of his own slavery by paying taxes to the Romans, and thus giving them the means of perpetuating his subjection. Besides this, he produces corn for his master's support.

portus sunt, *quibus &c.*] Walch says this is equivalent to "arva aut metalla, quibus exercendis, aut portus quorum reditibus retinendis reservemur." I do not think it is. The Latins say, 'exercere arva,' 'exercere armorum officinas, foenus, cauponam' &c. The word simply means 'to be busy upon;' so that 'portus exercere' may, I think, only mean 'to spend work upon harbours,' in the way of building moles, lading and unlading ships.

Trinobantes, *&c.*] This from the mention of the Colonia (Camulodunum) must refer to the revolt of the Iceni under Boudicea in Nero's reign. If so, the Trinobantes, not the Brigantes, were associated in the outbreak with the Iceni. I have therefore followed Ritter and others in adopting Trinobantes instead of Brigantes, the reading of the MSS.; for although these last are said (A. xii. 32) to have risen, they could hardly have taken any part in this revolt under Boudicea, or be included in the 'qui alii nondum servitio facti' of A. xiv. 31.

libertatem non in poenitentiam laturi] 'about to carry off liberty as a prize, they would never have cause to regret contending for.' Cf. A. vi. 34, "Plus decoris victores, aut si terga darent, flagitii atque periculi laturos."

sensionibus ac discordiis clari, vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt: quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus, ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos, et Germanos, et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis: metus et terror est, infirma vincla caritatis: quae ubi removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos conjuges accendunt: nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt: aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est: paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, coelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodammodo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus, et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit, neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium acie inveniemus nostras manus: agnoscent Britanni suam causam: recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tanquam nuper Usipii reliquerunt. Nec quidquam ultra formi-

XXXII. *pudet dictu*] The passive supine is generally used after certain adjectives, as 'turpe,' 'inhonestum,' 'facile,' 'pulchrum,' 'mirum,' in such phrases as 'turpe dictu' &c. The usual construction here would be 'pudet dicere.' Plautus however (Bacchid. iii. 1. 12) has 'neque mei neque tui intus puditum est factis quae facis.' Valerius Maximus has 'quia dictu fastidienda sunt.'

dominationi alienae] 'Dominatio' is properly 'the rule of a master over a household (domus),' the correlative term being 'servus;' as in A. xii. 30, "servitii ingenio dum adipiscerentur dominationes multa caritate." So in Greek δεσπότης is a master of slaves, δεσπότης μὲν τῶν δούλων, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. 'Dominatio' is then used for any irresponsible, unconstitutional power. Cf. A. i. 1, 'Non Cinnae non Sullae longa dominatio,' where it is contrasted with 'Pompeii Crassique potentia.'

metus et terror est] 'Metus' is defined by Cicero to be the apprehension of coming ill ('futurae aegritudinis sollicita exspectatio'). 'Terror' is 'metus concutiens,' 'an overpowering fright.' The former here seems to imply the servile apprehension of punishment, in case of disobedience, the latter the utter intimidation inspired by the stern conqueror.

aut nulla plerisque patria &c.] I think Wex is right in explaining this of the mass of Roman soldiers. If these words describe the renegade Britons, who sided with the Romans, and 'aut alia est' includes the cohorts of the allies, the legionaries are altogether omitted. Probably by this time the Roman legionaries had deteriorated in quality. Tacitus speaks (A. iv. 4) of volunteer soldiery, consisting mainly of the needy and vagabond classes ('plerumque inopes ac vagi sponte militiam sumant'). Those who have 'no

dinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et injuste imperantes, aegra municipia et discordantia: hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in aciem et majores vestros et posteros cogitate."

XXXIII. Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Jamque agmina et armorum fulgores, audentissimi cujusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola, quanquam laetum et vix munimentis coërcitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: "Octavus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera vestra Britanniam vicistis: tot

country' will be the soldiers of fortune; those who have 'another country' will be all foreign corps, like the Usipii, Batavi, &c., serving in Britain.

senum coloniae, &c.] There was then, really, only one 'colonia' Camulodunum, the 'senum' being the veteran soldiers settled there.

The Municipia (towns with their own senate, and Duumviri, with most of the rights of Roman citizens) were ill at ease from want of union between the inhabitants and their rulers. Londinium and Verulamium were two of these Municipia.

XXXIII. *accendendum adhuc*] See the note on 'adhuc' in c. 19 of the Germania.

Octavus annus est] Agricola was Consul A.D. 77, and entered Britain the following year, A.D. 78. He crossed the Bodotria in the sixth year of his command, and in the following year, as it seems, fought the battle at the Grampian Hills. Agricola then ought to have said 'seventh' instead of 'eighth.' To make the computation right, some reckon the time from Agricola's consulship, which seems rather a lame explanation. Ritter's view is, that as Agricola arrived in the middle of the summer, and this was now the end of the summer, he regards the eighth year as already beginning; the year being the seventh up to the anniversary day of his arrival, and the eighth afterwards. If the Roman soldiers understood this without any explanation, they must have been extremely shrewd. I think it possible—I can hardly say I think it probable—that Agricola reckons from a date before he joined the army in Britain. Part of the troops, at all events, may have been in the field for seven years past, and done something towards conquering the island, although Agricola himself had not been at their head more than six. No doubt, Agricola afterwards entirely identifies himself with the army, but I do not see that this proves necessarily that the army could not have been spoken of as conquering Britain before Agricola joined them; he does not say 'vicimus,' but 'vicistis.' It is perhaps hard to say which is the least unsatisfactory explanation.

auspiciis imperii Romani] One would have expected 'imperatoris' rather. Perhaps Domitian being now dead, Tacitus preferred avoiding any mention of so unworthy an occupant of the throne.

expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostes, seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum, neque vos ducis poenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae, non fama nec rumore sed castris et armis tenemus. Inventa Britannia, et subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes, montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cujusque voces audiebam: Quando dabitur hostis, quando acies? Veniunt e latebris suis extrusi: et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona victoribus, atque eadem victis adversa. Nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria, pulchrum ac decorum in frontem; ita fugientibus periculosissima, quae hodie prosperrima sunt. Neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia: sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet, jam pridem mihi decretum est, neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt: nec inglorium fuerit, in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse."

XXXIV. "Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset; aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Ii sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis

As the Emperor was Generalissimo of the Forces, all victories were ascribed to his auspices, and the actual commander regarded as his lieutenant only. In A. ii. 18, when Germanicus conquered the Germans, it was not he, but Tiberius, who was saluted Imperator, in accordance with the old distinction between fighting 'ductu suo' and 'auspiciis alicujus.'

non fama nec rumore] These words differ in this respect, that 'rumor' is a vague flying report, resting on no authentic basis. Cicero (ad Famil. xii. 10) says, "De Dolabella quotidie quae volumus audimus, sed adhuc sine capite, rumore nuntio." 'Fama' is a report resting on some foundation. If a man learns any thing by 'fame,' it does not of necessity imply more than that he was not an eye-witness; if by 'rumour,' that there is a vague report in existence about it.

virtusque in aperto] See the note on this phrase in c. 1.

decorum in frontem] 'Frons' is used here for an advancing army, as 'terga exercitus' means a retreating force, just below. To cross rivers, &c., is a glorious exploit, so long as the army keeps advancing. If it fall back, these rivers add to the difficulty of making good its retreat.

XXXIV. *furto noctis*] Virgil has 'fraude noctis' in the same sense;

adgressos, clamore debellastis: hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi: ideoque tamdiu superstites. Quomodo silvas saltusque penetrantibus, fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pelluntur; sic acerrimi Britannorum jam pridem ceciderunt: reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium: quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate reipublicae nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi."

XXXV. Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia

and Livy (xxvi. 51) uses a similar expression, "Nec opinato adventu ac prope furto unius diei urbem unam Hispaniae interceptam."

hi ceterorum] This is a Greek idiom for 'hi quam ceteri fugaciores.' Cf. *Καὶ νῦν τυχεῖν με τῶν πρὶν εἰσόδων μάκρῳ ἄριστα δοῖεν*, Aeschyl. Eum. 30. Also, *ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων*, Thucyd. i. 1. An idiom this, copied by Milton, in his expression—

"Adam, the goodliest man of men
since born
His sons; the fairest of her daughters,
Eve."

quodque animal contra ruere] This can hardly be the historical infinitive, because the use of that form seems restricted to the narrative of past events. I think Ritter is right in explaining it, by supposing that Tacitus intended to write 'pelli solent' at the end of the next clause, but for it, substituted its equivalent 'pelluntur,' and so left 'ruere,' which was meant to depend on 'solet,' without any government.

'Contra ruere' is equivalent in meaning to 'resistere,' and therefore takes the dative, 'fugientibus.' A very similar construction occurs in H. i. 35, "Inruenti turbae neque aetate neque corpore sistens," where 'sistens' takes the dative, as being equal in sense to 'resistens.'

extremo metu corpora] i. e. 'corpora extremo metu correpta.'

Transigite cum expeditionibus] See the note on c. 19 of the Germania, under 'transigitur.'

quinquaginta annis] Claudius began the conquest of Britain by sending A. Plautius, A.D. 43. Agricola is speaking in A.D. 84. This makes the fifty years only a round way of reckoning.

XXXV. *mediam aciem firmarent*] 'made a strong centre.' Cf. Liv. xxii. 46, "Dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum; media acie peditibus firmata."

cornibus adfunderentur. Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat, ita ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per acclive jugum connexi velut insurgerent: media campi covinarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. Tum Agricola, superante hostium multitudine, veritus ne simul in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quanquam porrectior acies futura erat, et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI. Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur: simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni, ingentibus gladiis, et brevibus cetris, missilia nostrorum vitare vel excu-

media campi covinarius eques] The combatants who were carried to the fight in 'covini.' These vehicles are mentioned by Lucan (Phars. i. 426), "Et docilis rector rostrati Belga covini;" and Pomponius Mela (iii. 6) describes them as scythe chariots ('covinos vocant quorum falcatis axibus utuntur'). The word is said to be a Keltic one, 'kowain,' 'to ride in a car.' The Roman 'covinus' seems to have been a conveyance closed, except in front, and to have had room for only one person. Martial speaks of the 'grata solitudo' of the carriage (xii. 24). 'Covinarius' occurs no where but in this passage. The words 'media campi' mean 'the plain between the two armies,'—an expression like 'strata viarum,' 'occulta saltuum,' 'delecta virorum,' &c.

promptior in spem &c.] Tacitus uses more than one construction with this adjective. He has 'promptus seditioni' (A. i. 48), and 'promptus in pavorem' (A. xv. 25), as here. For 'firmus adversis' compare 'arrogans minoribus' (A. xi. 21), 'novus delictis hostium' (Agric. 16), 'melioribus incuriosos' (H. ii. 17).

ante vexilla constitit] The troops spoken of in this passage were allied cohorts. 'Signa' would therefore have been the common word for Tacitus to use. Perhaps as there could be no misapprehension of the meaning, he did not care to be very exact.

XXXVI. *ingentibus gladiis*] The Roman swords were generally short, being somewhere between a foot and a half and two feet long, and adapted for stabbing. The British swords, like the Gallic and German, were for cutting. I believe, from discoveries made by various antiquarians, these British glaives are supposed to have been often close upon four feet in length.

brevibus cetris] The 'cetra' was a small round shield of hide, used by the Spaniards, Oscans, and others. The arms here described very closely resemble those of the Highlanders, the descendants of these Caledonii.

vitare vel excutere] The Roman recruit was taught "plagam prudenter vitare et obliquis ictibus venientia tela deflectere." This appears to be the meaning of Tacitus. They avoided the darts by shifting their bodies, or struck them on one side. This same word 'excutere' is used in A. ii. 20, of slingers hurling their own missiles.

tere; atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere: donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent: quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum, et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus: nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum, et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur, ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora foedare, et stratis, qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere; ceterae cohortes, aemulatione et impetu connisae, proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces,

Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum] A monumental stone, found in Northumberland, commemorates a surgeon to the first cohort of the Tungrians in the following words: "D. M. Anicio Ingenvo medico ordi. coh. primae Tvngr. vix an xxv."

Altars have been found also dedicated by soldiers of Batavian cohorts. In fact, an immense number of foreign troops have left records of their service in Britain. Germani, Mauretanians, Lingones, Nervii, Aquitani, Vangiones, Thraces, and others, are all commemorated in inscriptions.

quod et ipsis &c.] In H. iv. 12, Tacitus says of the Batavi, "Viros tantum armaque ministrant, diu Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta per Britanniam gloria."

complexum armorum] What this means is well explained by Virgil (Aen. x. 361):

"Haud aliter Trojanae acies, aciesque Latinae,
Concurrunt; haeret pede pes, densusque viro vir," &c.

Statius (Theb. viii. 398):

"Jam clypeus clypeis, umbone repellitur umbo,
Ense minax ensis, pede pes, et cuspide cuspis."

It is not easy to gain a clear idea of this battle from the description of Tacitus. After many times reading over the passage, I think what he means is as follows: The Britons were posted on rising ground; the level space between them and the Romans was filled with 'covinarii.' As the Romans advanced these 'covinarii' dismounted (see c. 12), and the 'covini' were driven off by the 'aurigae.' The Batavi and Tungri overpowered these dismounted 'covinarii' ('stratis qui in aequo adstiterant'), and with the other allied cohorts began to mount the hill, leaving many of the Britons unwounded, or only half despatched behind them. The Roman cavalry pressed into the fray side by side with their own infantry ('turmae equitum peditum se proelio miscuere'). At first these horsemen caused a panic ('recentem terrorem intulerant'), but were soon brought to a standstill by the enemy's ranks and the rising ground ('densis tamen hostium,' &c.). The fray was now no longer like a cavalry engagement, with charges at speed, but a confused medley. The cohorts having insecure footing ('aegre stantes'), were pushed on from behind by the struggling horses of the cavalry, and continually charged on the flanks and in front by chance war cars, or terrified horses dashing in upon them ('transversos aut obvios incursabant').

connisae] 'straining up.' Cf.

aut integri, festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae (fugere covinarii) peditum se proelio miscuere: et quanquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque equestris ea pugnae facies erat, cum aegre diu stantes, simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII. Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant, et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant: ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius accurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disjecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum: transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae, aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem, oblatis aliis, trucidare. Jam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. Passim arma et cor-

H. iv. 53, "Simul ceteri magistratus et sacerdotes studio laetitiaque connisi saxum ingens traxere."

recentem terrorem] 'Recens' is here used of a panic, the effect of which has not yet passed away. Cf. A. xiv. 23, "Corbulo recenti terrore utendum ratus."

inaequalibus locis haerebant] 'Haerere' is a common word in this sense. Cf. Liv. xxii. 5, "Alii fugientes pugnantium globo illati haerebant." Also, A. i. 68.

XXXVII. *vacui*] 'At leisure,' as yet having taken no part in the engagement. Cf. H. iv. 17, "Proinde adriperent vacui occupatos, integri fessos."

ad subita belli] This is a common phrase to express the sudden emergencies which arise in war. Cf. Liv. xxv. 15, "Ut ad subita belli Tiberium Gracchum Beneventum venire jubent." Also, H. iv. 27, "ad subita belli ministeria."

Tum vero patentibus &c.] Lipsius compares with this a passage of Sallust, Jug. 101. Both the accounts are worth reading as specimens of style, when the writers evidently set themselves to make their strongest efforts: "Tum spectaculum horribile campis patentibus: sequi, fugere, occidi, capi; equi, viri, adflicti; ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia qua visus erat constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine."

ultro ruere] Armed men turned their backs to a few; others, although

pora et laceri artus et cruenta humus: et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque: postquam silvis adpropinquaverunt, collecti, primos sequentium, incautos et locorum ignaros, circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens ubique Agricola, validas et expeditas cohortes, indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum, dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare jussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. Ceterum, ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari, et vitabundi invicem, longinqua atque avia petiere: finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit: caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta cecidere: in quis Aulus Atticus, praefectus cohortis, juvenili ardore, et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

XXXVIII. Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Britanni palantes, mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu, trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere: eligere latebras et statim relinquere: miscere invicem consilia aliqua, dein separare: aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari; satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in conjuges ac liberos, tanquam misererentur. Proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta,

unarmed, were so far from copying their cowardice, that they went to the extent of rushing on the enemy.

indaginis modo] 'Indago' is a ring of nets, or men, surrounding a wood, or piece of ground, and gradually contracting and driving the game into a narrow compass, on the plan of a modern battue. Cf. Liv. vii. 37, "Profectus agmine instructo, quum praemissus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites ageret." Also, A. xiii. 42, "Romae testamenta et orbos velut indagine ejus capi."

XXXVIII. *dein separare*] That is, 'consilia.' Sometimes a few united, and began to form plans for acting in unison; then they broke up these plans, and acted each for himself.

vastum ubique silentium] The idea of 'vastus' seems to be 'waste.' The other meanings appear derived from this, and to retain something more or less of the original notion. 'Vastum murmur,' 'vastus clamor' denote, I suppose, murmurs and shouts, like those in a desert, and therefore heard far and wide. So the idea of being wide-spread is gained. Hence 'vastus' is used sometimes to express mere size, although generally there is connected

nemo exploratoribus obvius: quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia, neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum, et exacta jam aestate spargi bellum nequibat, in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecepit: datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror: ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanniae lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX. Hunc rerum cursum, quanquam nulla verborum jactantia epistolis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum ha-

with this idea of size a notion of something uncouth, shapeless, waste in fact. 'Vasta bellua' conveys the impression of an ugly, misshapen, overgrown creature.

secreti colles] 'lonely retired hills.' The words are meant here apparently to denote hills left lonely by the absence of occupiers. This is a curious use rather of 'secretus.'

Borestorum] These people are not mentioned elsewhere, but are evidently somewhere north of the Bodotria.

datae ad id] On board the fleet were soldiers, in order to overpower the Britons, wherever the ships touched. This voyage is alluded to in c. 10, and during it the Romans discovered and conquered the Orkneys, and caught sight of Thule. The reputation thus acquired by the fleet is called 'fama' just below.

unde . . . redierat] I believe this to mean, that the fleet issued from the Portus Trutulensis, somewhere on the Eastern shore of Britain, near the Frith of Tay or Forth probably, and after completing its appointed voyage, coasting the Eastern shore, and so much of the Northern and Western as was necessary to assure themselves of the insularity of Britain, returned to that port.

The 'unde' is about equivalent to 'quo inde . . . redierat.' Wex compares A. xi. 38, "ferrumque accepit, quod frustra jugulo admovens ictu tribuni transfigitur;" and Curt. 3. 1. 22, "jamque ad urbem Ancyram ventum erat ubi numero copiarum inito, Paphlagoniam intrat." In these cases the relative entirely belongs to the first clause, and not at all to the second: 'Whence having coasted the nearer shore of Britain, it had returned to it,' equivalent to 'whither, having thence,' &c. 'Redeo' implies the success, or, at all events, the completion of the voyage, as at first contemplated. A man who returns unexpectedly before he completes his intended journey is said 'reverti.'

XXXIX. *Inerat*] 'Inesse' is often used absolutely. Cf. Livy ix. 16, "praecipua pedum inerat pernicitas." Also, Sall. Cat. 25, "prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat."

falsum e Germania triumphum, &c.]

bitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam, tot milibus hostium caesis, ingenti fama celebrari. Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori, et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet: et cetera utcunque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL. Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo

This seems to be what Suetonius mentions, Domit. 6, "De Cattis Dacisque post varia proelia duplicem triumphum egit." Caligula was reduced to make his Germans on the spot by similar means to those mentioned here. Suet. Calig. 47, "Transfugas barbaros coëgit non tantum rutilare et submittere comam, sed et sermonem Germanicum addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre."

utcunque facilius] This word 'utcunque' is used chiefly in two senses. It means 'in whatever way:' 'utcunque se ea res habuit,' A. i. 5. Cf. Liv. xxxii. 3, "Sed utcunque seu injuncta, seu suscepta foret militia et eam exhaustam esse," &c. Besides this, it is used like an adverb, in the sense of 'somehow or other.' Cf. A. xii. 51, "Sed conjux gravida primam utcunque fugam toleravit;" 'she made shift to endure it somehow or other.' A. ii. 14, "primam utcunque aciem hastatam ceteris praeusta aut brevia tela." This last does not seem a Ciceronian use, but is found in Livy, Tacitus, Pliny, and later writers. Livy (xxix. 15) has "tempus esse . . . quae dubiis in rebus utcunque tolerata essent, ea," &c. I think here it means 'other qualities are more easily, by some means or other, concealed.' One may conceal certain qualities in a variety of ways; and whichever of these a man adopt, the concealment is easier than that of military glory; that cannot be hidden, and marks its possessor as a fit aspirant to the imperial throne ('imperatoriam').

secreto] 'gorging himself, as it were, with his own solitary brooding.'

XL. *triumphalia ornamenta*] Under the emperors, after B.C. 14, the actual triumph was their privilege, as generalissimos of the armies of the empire, and therefore the possessors of the 'auspicia.' The 'legati,' in real command, were only allowed the empty insignia of the triumph. They were permitted to receive the titles bestowed on the Imperatores of the Republic; to appear in the garb worn by them, a gold embroidered dress ('toga picta'), and flowered tunic ('tunica palmeata'), and a crown of laurel. They also were allowed to hand down to their descendants the laurel-wreathed statue, in a triumphal car, or to have them erected in the city. This statue is here called 'inlustris,' elsewhere 'laureata' (A. iv. 23), and 'triumphalis' (A. xv. 72).

quidquid pro triumpho datur] This

verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu jubet, addique insuper opinionem, Syriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et majoribus reservatam. Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Syria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto, ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur: eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo, ad Domitianum remeasse: sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio, noctu in urbem, noctu in palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit: exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium immixtus est. Ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus auxit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus: adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare

would include the 'supplicatio,' and the public sacrifices.

addique . . opinionem] This seems to imply that Domitian gave orders to have the Senatus Consultum so worded, as to give fair ground for supposing that Agricola was to succeed to the province of Syria.

et majoribus reservatam] This means to say that Syria was usually destined for persons of eminence. So far the rumour of its being intended for Agricola was a compliment.

tulisse, cum praecepto] Domitian was anxious to withdraw Agricola from Britain, where, from his military reputation, he might have become formidable as a competitor for the empire. A confidential freedman ('libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis') was therefore sent, with an official document, appointing him to the command of Syria, in order to detach him from his British legions. As the freedman met him already returning, the device was unnecessary, and he therefore returned to Rome at once, without even addressing Agricola.

sive ex ingenio principis] The story was either true, or might easily have been so; for the scheme it supposed was exactly suited to the emperor's character.

successori suo] Suetonius, Domit. 10, mentions that Sallustius Lucullus, a 'legatus' of Britain, was put to death by Domitian, for the serious crime of having allowed dishes of a novel pattern to be called Lucullean, after his own name. Possibly this was Agricola's successor. After Agricola's return, Caledonia does not seem to have been long retained by the Romans, as Tacitus says in the History (i. 2), "Britannia perdomita et statim amissa."

per ambitionem aestimare] To value great men in the ratio of their

mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola, quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI. Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est: causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cujusquam; sed infensus virtutibus princeps, et gloria viri, ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. Et ea insecuta sunt reipublicae tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque, et Germania et Pannonia, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissa; tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti: nec jam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continu-

efforts to obtain celebrity by outward show and splendour.

quaererent famam] 'Quaerere' is used for 'desiderare,' 'to have to seek for a thing,' 'to miss it.' Cf. Cic. in Verr. v. 18, "Aetnensis ager sic erat deformis atque horridus ut in uberrima parte Siciliae Siciliam quaereremus." Most people saw in the plain man before them no traces of his great celebrity; few only were able to take its true measure. In the careful avoidance of all notoriety they saw the extent of his fame. Under a jealous Emperor, the more really celebrated a man was, the more was it necessary for him to disguise it by studied quietness and retirement.

XLI. *absens*] The charges against him were so transparently false, that he was acquitted even in his absence.

laudantes] These crafty maligners, knowing the emperor's jealousy, endeavoured to inspire him with hatred of Agricola by constantly praising the latter in the Emperor's hearing.

Moesia] This country was bounded on the South by Mons Haemus; West by the river Drinnus (Drin), a tributary of the Save; North by the Danube, and East by the Euxine Sea. It was divided into Lower or Eastern, and Upper or Western Moesia, comprising Bulgaria and Servia, respectively East and West of the river Cebrus, a small tributary of the Danube. The disasters here spoken of occurred A.D. 86—91. Oppius Sabinus was defeated in Moesia by the Dacians, under Decebalus, and himself slain. Subsequently Cornelius Fuscus, sent to revenge this defeat, was surprised by the Dacians, his army destroyed, and his baggage and standards taken.

Germania] This refers to the wars against the Marcomani and Quadi, carried on by the legions of Pannonia.

expugnati] 'Expugnare' properly applies to the storming of towns, camps, &c. It is also used for taking men prisoners, by forcing their strongholds. Cf. Liv. xxiii. 30, "Nec ulla magis vis obsessos quam fames expugnavit." In the same chapter of Livy there is, "coriis herbisque vixere nec antequam vires deerant expugnati sunt."

de limite imperii] See Germania, c. 29. There are said to be still visible remains of a line of Roman forts from Peterwardin to Becs, on the Theiss. The 'ripa' here mentioned is the right bank of the Danube as far as the Quadi.

arentur, atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola: comparantibus cunctis vigorem, constantiam, et expertum bellis animum, cum inertia et formidine eorum. Quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore, pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur.

XLII. Aderat jam annus, quo proconsulatum Asiae et Africae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper, nec Agricolae consilium deerat, nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere quidam, cogitationum principis periti, qui, iturusne

dum optimus quisque &c.] It is curious that 'dum,' in the sense of 'whilst,' is perpetually joined to a present tense, even when a proper sequence requires a past tense. Cf. H. iii. 86, "Amicitias dum magnitudine munerum non constantia morum contineri putat, meruit magis quam habuit." It takes the indicative present even in the Oratio obliqua. Cf. H. v. 17, "Suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse dum omissis telis praeda manus impediunt." The former of these uses is not so common in Cicero, but in Livy, Caesar, Tacitus, &c., is constantly occurring. Consequently some of the critics want to replace the imperfect here by the present.

vitiis aliorum . . . praeceps agebatur] Ritter translates the first words 'by the faults of other generals,' contrasting with his own successes. I believe they mean the faults of others (their malignity, envy, &c.), who plotted his destruction. The last words imply that Agricola was hurried forward beyond the power of retreat, to the very embrace of glory,—a turn perhaps suggested by the common expression, 'praeceps in perniciem agi.'

XLII. *Aderat &c.*] These provinces of Africa and Asia being the most important, and of chiefest dignity, were given as a rule to two of the oldest consulars. In A. iii. 71, Tacitus mentions, that when Servius Maluginensis was unable to accept the province of Asia, "sors Asiae in eum qui consularium Maluginensi proximus erat, collata." Agricola, as one of the two oldest, was to decide by lot which of the two provinces he should take. How many years after his consulship this was is not known. At all events, probably not more than four or five years had elapsed since his return from Britain, as the circumstances seem to have occurred before Tacitus' departure from Rome, which took place A.D. 90. The particulars are minutely given, as though the writer had been on the spot when they occurred. What transpired after that date is very briefly described by Tacitus, as not falling under his immediate notice.

occiso Civica nuper] Suetonius (Domit. 10) mentions this incident. Civica Cerialis was put to death by Domitian whilst holding the proconsulate of Asia. This supplied Agricola with a warning to avoid a similar dignity himself, and would have afforded Domitian a precedent, if he had accepted it, for despatching him.

esset, ultro Agricolam interrogarent: ac primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre: postremo non jam obscuri, suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum: qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis, et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est: nec erubuit beneficii invidia: salarium tamen, proconsulari solitum offerri et quibusdam a seipso concessum, Agricolae non dedit: sive offensus non petitum; sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est, odisse quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur: quia non contumacia neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub

paratus simulatione] The ablative is an instrumental one, 'arming himself with hypocrisy.' Cicero uses 'paratum esse peditatu' in the same way. One MS. has 'simulationis,' a common construction with Tacitus, like 'vetus regnandi,' 'validus orandi,' &c.

in adrogantiam] Cf. H. i. 54, 'legati in squalorem maestitiamque compositi.'

excusantis] In Dialog. de Orat. c. 5 'excusare' is found without a pronoun; but it seems most likely that 'se' has disappeared from the MSS. in such a sentence as 'in iis cogitationibus excusant.' The usage against this omission of the pronoun seems all but universal. Ritter defends it on the ground of 'excusantis' being a participle used like a noun; a reason I do not understand. Cicero has 'excusatio obeundae legationis,' in the sense of declining a 'legatio;' and I think, possibly the word may be used here simply for 'declining,' and the accusative omitted be 'provinciam,' gathered from the whole context.

beneficii invidia] He did not blush to undergo the odium that must ensue from such a sham act of concession to Agricola's wishes. So in A. vi. 23, 'Tiberius non erubuit permittere,' of a pretended favour in allowing some one to be buried.

Wex takes the words to mean 'did not blush to feel that he was satisfying his own malice, in the matter of this pretended favour.' I think the other way right.

salarium tamen] This word is derived by the ancients themselves from 'sal,' meaning a supply of all the necessaries of life, of which salt is a representative; and, beyond this, a payment of money, which under the emperors was usually made to provincial governors. Dion Cassius mentions that to Aufidius Fronto was paid a sum of 10,000 sesterces to compensate him for the withholding the provinces of Asia and Africa from him.

inlicita mirari] Tacitus says, in c. 17, "Julius Frontinus vir magnus, quantum licebat." This seems the clue to Tacitus' meaning here. Some admire the boldness and spirit of those who aim at a freedom and independence no longer possible to attain, under the existing state of

malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII. Finis vitae ejus nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque, et hic aliud agens populus, et ventitavere ad domum, et per fora et circulos locuti sunt: nec quisquam, audita morte Agricolae, aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus est. Augebat miserationem constans rumor, veneno interceptum. Nobis nihil comperti adfirmare ausim: ceterum per omnem valetudinem ejus, crebrius, quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi, et medicorum intimi venere: sive cura illud

the empire, and are inclined to despise all who lower their aspirations to the merely possible.

eo laudis excedere] 'Excedo' is generally used for 'passing beyond moderate bounds.' Cf. A. ii. 24, 'Tantum illa clades novitate et magnitudine excessit.' Also, Liv. xxxiii. 35, 'Ne in altercationem excederet res.' It perhaps may be used here for exceeding the usual bounds in a pregnant sense; 'pass the usual limits to an extent of praise,' &c.

quo plerique . . . . . . inclaruerunt] This is put for 'quo claritudinis pervenerunt,' or 'quo inclarescentes pervenerunt.' In this way, 'per abrupta' comes in appropriately. Translate, 'a height of glory others have reached, by travelling along a rugged path, and without any advantage to the state (earning distinction) by an aspiring death.' The whole sentence is excessively awkward, and I think, corrupt.

XLIII. *extraneis etiam*] In A. iv. 11, 'extraneus' is used as opposed to a man's 'filius.' So Suetonius Claud. 4, "Ne heredem quidem nisi inter tertios ac paene extraneos nuncuparit." Here, therefore, it does not mean 'foreigners,' but only persons who were unconnected with Agricola either by blood or close friendship.

aliud agens] 'Agere aliquid' is used by the Latin writers in the sense of making any thing one's business. 'Hoc agite, o Juvenes,' 'make this your aim;' 'Hoc agit ut doleas' (Juv. v. 157), 'his great object is to annoy you.' Here 'aliud agens' means generally busy on very different objects; not concerned with such matters as the doings and fates of illustrious men. Juvenal says of the people in his day, "ex quo suffragia nulli Vendimus, effudit curas."

et per fora] There were several of these at Rome, three especially used for public business; the Forum Romanum, the Forum Julii (Suet. Jul. Caes. 26), the Forum Augusti (Suet. Octav. 29). Others were subsequently added by other emperors. There was one begun by Domitian, and completed by Nerva, the 'Forum Trajani,' &c.

ex more principatus] This custom here alluded to is not stated to be peculiar to Domitian. All Emperors send persons to make inquiries rather than make them in person; and as generally it is a formal compliment, the inquiries are rarely made frequently.

sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem die, momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic accelerari quae tristis audiret. Speciem tamen doloris animo vultuque prae se tulit, securus jam odii, et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium, quam metum. Satis constabat, lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore judicioque: tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem, nisi malum principem.

XLIV. Natus erat Agricola, Caio Caesare, tertium consule, Idibus Juniis: excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decimo Kalendas Septembris, Collega Priscoque

sive cura illud] 'whether it was genuine anxiety about him, or only a desire to pry into the exact state of his health.'

momenta deficientis] The gradual steps in Agricola's decline, the dying man being probably at his Alban villa some distance from Rome, were reported to the Emperor by runners placed for the purpose in readiness.

animo vultuque] 'Animus' is a little obscure here. By 'feeling' Tacitus seems to mean rather its outward manifestation; the external symptoms of the working of the mind within, every emotion betraying itself in some corresponding visible movement or gesture.

securus jam odii] This does not mean, as the words certainly might do, 'careless,' 'reckless, now about showing his dislike.' It is equivalent to 'certain now of gratifying his dislike.' Domitian was now sure of his victim, and being no longer afraid of Agricola, only glad at the certainty of getting rid of him, he was able to conceal the latter feeling more successfully than the former. There is a similar phrase in A. iii. 28, 'Caesar Augustus potentiae securus.'

et qui facilius dissimularet] 'and being the sort of man to conceal his joy rather than his fear.'

piissimae filiae] Cicero jeers at Antonius for using the phrase 'piissimi hominis,' and introducing a new word into the language (quod verbum nullum omnino est). Tacitus, however, compares 'strenuus' in the same way, making the superlative 'strenuissimus' instead of the usual 'maxime strenuus.' 'Piissimus' is frequently used by late writers, Seneca, Quinctilian, and others of the Silver Age.

nisi malum principem] Because under a grasping ruler the dying hoped, by leaving a part of their wealth to the emperor, to secure the rest to their children. Cf. A. xvi. 11, "Nec defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere." Tiberius had the grace to decline such legacies.

XLIV. *tertium consule*] Caligula was consul for the third time A.D. 40. Collega and Priscus were consuls A.D. 93; consequently, the reading 'sexto et quinquagesimo' is wrong. The simplest way, I think, is to suppose that in the MSS. VI. was a mistake of the copyist for IV. This makes the reckoning right.

decimo Kalendas] The usual form

consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque ejus posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit: nihil metus in vultu: gratia oris supererat: bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quanquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. Quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat; et consularibus ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito, quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat; speciosae contigerant: filia atque uxore superstitibus, potest videri etiam beatus, incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis, futura effugisse. Nam sicuti durare in hac beatissimi seculi luce ac principem Trajanum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras aures ominabatur: ita festinatae mortis grande solatium tulit, evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non jam per intervalla ac spiramenta tem-

would be 'ante decimum Kalendas Septembres,' or 'Septembris,' where 'Septembris' is an adjective in the accusative plural, not the genitive of a noun, as is clear from comparing the expression 'tertium nonas Januarias' (H. i. 57). The 'ante' in this form seems to belong to 'Kalendas,' and 'decimum' is either the accusative of time, or the accusative from a sort of euphony after 'ante.' This 'ante' is often omitted as here, and the day put in the ablative. 'Decimo Kalendarum' is also a recognized form.

Collega Priscoque consulibus] The usual way would be to mention the consuls by two names, with no particle or 'et' between them. Here Tacitus seems rather to add these words by the way, than to introduce them as a formal method of identifying the particular year. That already has been done by stating Agricola's age.

decentior] 'rather comely,' 'symmetrical, than tall of stature.'

nihil metus in vultu] 'there was nothing in his looks to inspire terror; rather sweetness of expression, abundantly pourtrayed, was there.' Cf. Germ. 6, 'ne ferrum quidem superest.' Also, H. i. 51, 'Arma, viri, equi ad usum, et ad decus supererant.'

medio in spatio &c.] This does not mean that he only lived half his time, as some of the commentators think, but that he died in the midst of his career, with the vigorous powers of life undiminished. Cf. Suet. Tiber. 10, "Integra aetate ac valetudine statuit repente secedere seque e medio longissime amovere."

speciosae contigerant] Dion Cassius remarks that Agricola, after his return from Britain, lived in neglect and want. The assertion is directly contradicted by this passage, and the general tenor of the sixth chapter. Agricola had wealth enough to make a respectable figure (speciosae).

sicuti durare in hac &c.] In the first part of this sentence supply 'grande solatium fuisset.' 'As it would have been a great comfort to prolong his life under . . . . . . a fact which he often foreshadowed in our hearing in prediction and hope; so it was a great comfort,' &c.

per intervalla &c.] 'No longer

porum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu, rempublicam exhausit.

XLV. Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum, et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exsilia et fugas. Una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Bebius jam tum reus erat. Mox nostrae duxere Helvi-

with intervals and seasons of respite,' when people can get their breath again.

XLV. *obsessam curiam*] This is not mentioned elsewhere. Nero, to secure the condemnation of Thrasea, once posted Praetorian cohorts round the temple of Venus, where the senate met, and guarded the approach with civilians armed with swords openly displayed. Domitian may very likely have done the same thing.

tot consularium caedes] A list of Domitian's victims is found in Suet. Dom. 10, most of them being put to death on the most trivial charges. One was killed for calling a new dish by his name, another for a joke, a third for celebrating his uncle Otho's birthday, &c.

feminarum exsilia] Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus, was banished by Domitianus for inducing Herennius Senecio to write her late husband's life. Gratilla, wife of Arulenus Rusticus, and Arria, wife of Thrasea, were also in the list of exiles.

Carus Metius censebatur] 'Censeri' means 'to be rated at.' Cf. Juv. viii. 2, 'longo sanguine censeri,' 'to be valued, rated at, long descent.' This Metius is mentioned with Massa Bebius in Juv. i. 35, 36 as the prince of informers. He seems to have been the man who brought Senecio to trial for writing the life of Helvidius Priscus, and entertained thoughts of accusing Pliny the Younger. The pair of worthies were themselves brought to trial by Heliodorus, and put to death (Schol. on Juv. i. 35).

Albanam arcem] This is the palace of Domitian under the Alban Mount. He used to summon thither the senate for consultation. Cf. Juv. iv. 145,—

"—— misso proceres exire jubentur
Consilio quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem,
Traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
Tanquam de Chattis aliquid . . . ."

'Arx' was especially the word used to denote a tyrant's palace,—

"—— Nullus ephebum
Deformem saeva . . in arce tyrannus" (Juv. x. 307).

Cf. also A. xiv. 31, 'Templum . . . quasi arx aeternae dominationis aspiciebatur.'

Messalini] Catullus Messalinus (Juv. iv. 113) was governor of Libyan Pentapolis under Vespasian and Titus, in which office he treated the provincial Jews, including Josephus, with extreme cruelty. He was recalled from his province, but escaped punishment, and afterwards died a wretched death. He was blind.

Massa Bebius] He was a procurator in Africa in A.D. 70, and described by Tacitus (H. iv. 50) as "Optimo cuique exitiosus et in causas malorum quae mox tulimus saepe rediturus." On returning subsequently from his government of Boetica, he was accused, A.D. 93, by Senecio and Pliny, of misgovern-

dium in carcerem manus: nos Maurici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos, jussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat, videre et aspici: cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur: cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat. Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis: ut perhibent, qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tanquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed mihi filiaeque, praeter acerbitatem

ment and oppression of the provincials. He was condemned, but escaped punishment. Before Agricola's death, this informer was himself in peril, and it was only after his escape from retribution that he broke out into his infamous course of distinction.

Mox nostrae &c.] Tacitus was not at Rome for some time subsequent to Agricola's death, and he only uses 'nostrae' because he was himself a senator. Helvidius Priscus the younger, on the charge of having, in a farce of Paris and Aenone, intended to pourtray the Emperor's divorce from all his wives, was apparently seized in the senate, and dragged off by the obsequious senators to prison.

Maurici Rusticique] Mauricus was a brother to Arulenus Rusticus, and banished when his brother was put to death. Under Nerva he returned. It was Mauricus who displayed his boldness by requesting Domitian to display the Imperial records, in order to see what persons had been guilty of informing under Nero, that they might know whom to punish.

visus] This usually denotes the faculty of sight, but is used for 'species.' Cf. Liv. viii. 9, "Conspectus ab utraque acie augustior humano visu." Also, Liv. i. 20, "Quaeque prodigia fulminibus, aliove visu missa susciperentur."

perfudit] Not literally, for Senecio was not put to death in the senate-house. The act stained the senators with the guilt of innocent blood. A verb must be supplied from 'perfudit' to suit 'visus,' 'horrore perculit,' or something of the kind.

subscriberentur] Any one who supported an accusation brought by another, by entering his name on the indictment as subsidiary accuser, was said 'subscribere.' Cf. A. i. 74, "Quaestor postulavit, subscribente Romano Hispone." There seems an allusion to this in the use of the word here, 'were noted down as matters of accusation against us.'

sufficeret saevus ille vultus] 'bore up, without flinching, while marking down for punishment the white faces,' &c. Cf. Cic. de Leg. Manil. 3, "Una significatio litterarum cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit."

rubor] Pliny the Younger (Paneg. 48) speaks of Domitian, "femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa." Cf. Suet. Domit. 18, "Vultu modesto, ruborisque pleno."

pro virili portione] This phrase is found also in H. iii. 20, in the sense of 'pro virili parte,' which is Cicero's form.

parentis erepti, auget moestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexuque non contigit: excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus: nobis tam longae absentiae conditione ante quadriennium amissus es. Omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore, superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrymis compositus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI. Si quis piorum manibus locus: si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnae animae: placide quiescas, nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis, ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est: admiratione te potius, te immortalibus laudibus, et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine decorabimus. Is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque ejus secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis, quam cor-

principi donares] Agricola, by accepting his death with resignation, as in the course of nature, did his best to shield the Emperor from the suspicion of having despatched him.

contigit] This verb is generally used of any good fortune. Cf. Juv. viii. 28, "Rarus et egregius patriae contingis ovanti," 'you are a windfall, seldom found, to your country.'

amissus es] Tacitus, from this, appears to have left Rome not later than A.D. 90, and to have been absent a considerable time, not having, I think, returned in A.D. 93, when Herennius Senecio was put to death (see c. 2, 'legimus,' &c.). Possibly, after his praetorship in A.D. 88, he obtained the administration of some province.

The words here can only, I think, mean one thing; that Tacitus left Rome four years before Agricola's death. Lipsius and Wex infer, however, from them that Tacitus wrote his biography four years after Agricola's death. So he did, no doubt, but this sentence does not say so.

In the clause 'longae absentiae conditione' there seems to me a metaphor from a victorious enemy (fate), imposing hard conditions on a vanquished enemy.

XLVI. *muliebribus lamentis &c.*] A similar remark is addressed by Seneca to his wife in A. xv. 63, "Rogat oratque temperaret dolori, ne aeternum susciperet, sed in contemplatione vitae per virtutem actae desiderium mariti solatiis honestis toleraret."

plangi fas est] This verb 'plango' is constructed like τύπτομαι and κόπτομαι in Greek. When they mean 'to beat oneself in sorrow for any one,' they take an accusative. Cf. Herod. ii. 41, Τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριόν.

formamque ac figuram] There is

poris, complectantur: non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus, quae marmore aut aere finguntur: sed ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna: quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos veterum, velut inglorios et ignobiles, oblivio obruet: Agricola, posteritati narratus et traditus, superstes erit.

a difference between these two words. 'Forma' conveys the idea of a visible embodiment of the internal nature of that to which it corresponds. Hence it means beauty, especially a girl's beauty, and includes colour, magnitude. 'Figura' means shape as regards outline.

fama rerum] Livy says of the Scipios, "Vos quoque velim milites non lamentis lacrimisque tanquam exstinctos prosequi (vivunt vigentque fama rerum gestarum)." Here, certainly, the last words seem to mean, 'they live in the glory of their exploits.' Tacitus however, I think, uses the words in the sense of 'history.' 'Agricola will live in the records of the human race.' There is an epigram by Antiphilus in the 'Anthologia,' supposed to refer to the Agricola, who is the subject of this biography,—

Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες τί πεφεύγατε;
ποῦ τόσον ὕδωρ;
τίς φλὸξ ἀενάους ἔσβεσεν ἠελίου;
δάκρυσιν Ἀγρικόλαο τετρύμεθα·
πᾶν δ' ὅσον ἡμῖν
ἦν ποτὸν ἡ κείνου διψὰς ἔχει σποδιή.

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